

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /  
VOLUME XLIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY  
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## PREFACE

THIS volume contains three main groups of papyri. One was prepared for publication by Dr Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, another by Dr J. E. G. Whitehorne, both as doctoral theses in the University of London under the supervision of Sir Eric Turner; this original version has been revised against the papyri, and to some extent reworked, by Mr Parsons and Dr Rea. The third group was studied at a seminar in the Istituto Papirologico G. Vitelli of the University of Florence, under the direction of Dr Coles; each member of the seminar contributes one text; their versions have been revised and translated by Dr Coles. We owe further substantial contributions to Dr S. A. Stephens and Dr J. C. Shelton.

The content is miscellaneous. There are fragmentary but interesting pieces of New Comedy (3431-2), a handsome Strabo (3447) and an even more handsome Dinarchus (3436-7) which have an interest for the textual critic; 3441 adds to the history of an Odyssean crux, 3454 to the history of Greek punctuation. 3455-6 include new items of metrological information. Among the documents, we note especially 3479 for the consuls of 361, 3495 for the time and motion of Oxyrhynchite fishermen, 3477 for the anacrisis of slaves, and 3482 for the transference of catœcic land; 3463 and 3476 shed new light on the ephebate at Alexandria and Antinoöpolis; 3470, 3472 and 3473 add to our knowledge of the temples – the admission of their priests, the uses of their precincts, and the miscellany of sacred junk that they accumulated.

We record our warm gratitude to Dr H. M. Cockle, who compiled the indexes; and to the Cambridge University Press for the accuracy and elegance of their production.

P. J. P.  
J. R. R.  
E. G. T.

April 1982 .

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IA	= I. Andorlini	AM	= A. Moscardi
SA	= S. Arci	LP	= L. Papini
GB	= G. Bastianini	PJP	= P. J. Parsons
JB	= J. Bingen	RP	= R. Pintaudi
AB-J	= A. Bülow-Jacobsen	PP	= P. Pruneti
MCD	= M. C. Donnini	JRR	= J. R. Rea
TD	= T. Dorandi	CR	= C. Römer
RF	= R. Ferrini	JCS	= J. C. Shelton
DF	= D. Foraboschi	ES	= E. Shepherd
SSF	= S. S. Foulk	SAS	= S. A. Stephens
MSF	= M. S. Funghi	GS	= G. Sodini
RH	= R. Hübner	RDS	= R. D. Sullivan
MM	= M. Manfredi	JEGW	= J. E. G. Whitehorne
GMS	= G. Messeri Savorelli		

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (1978) 64-5*). In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D(3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A.B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO  
PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY  
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- I 43 verso (= *WChr.* 474). Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 76-7.  
47. This is to be dated more precisely between A.D. 83/4 and Oct.-Nov. A.D. 88. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-9.  
73 26-7. For . . . ]τμ ε[ξ-] ]<sup>27</sup>αίρετον δοῦλην read perhaps κο[πρια[γ-] ]<sup>27</sup>αίρετον δοῦλην. See PSI XII 1230. 4 as corrected in BL III 227, IV 90. Cf. BL I 314.  
134 26. For Ταρουε[ι(ιου)] read probably Ταρουε[βτ]. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 198-9.  
169 (description). Edition in *Stud. Pap.* 19 (1980) 5-7.
- II 251 (= *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 222-4). 1. Read Διδύμωι καὶ Ἄ[πολλωνίωι? Cf. XXXIII 2669 1 n., P. Mich. III 170. 1 n. J. E. G. Whitehorne.  
255 (= *WChr.* 201). 2. Read Διδύμωι [καὶ Ἄ]πολ[λω(νίωι) or Ἄ]πολ[λ]ω(νίωι). Cf. XXXIII 2669 1 n., P. Mich. III 170. 1 n. J. E. G. Whitehorne.  
261 (= *MChr.* 346 = *Sel. Pap.* 1 60). 6. For Ἀγνείου read Ζηνείου. XLIX 3486 8 n.  
336 (description). Edition in *L'Antiquité classique* 50 (1981) 753-8.  
473 (= *WChr.* 33). 2. For Ὀξυρυχ]ιτών read Ναυκρα]ιτών. *BASP* 18 (1981) 78-9.  
495 5. For Κριεθόρει read Κερκεθόρει. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 79.  
501 7-8. For Τιχημακίτων read perhaps Τυχημακίτων. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 210.  
504 15-16. For the reading and restoration cf. XLIX 3482 9 n.  
648 (description). For Ψαλβώ read probably Τυχω]ψαλβώ. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 211.  
715 23-4. In the translation for 'iξ' read 'ξ'. J. Rowlandson.  
720 (= ChLA IV 269). 9. For Ἀβρηλία read perhaps Ἀβρηλο<ο> or Ἀβρηλο<ς>. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 107.  
721 4. Read βασιλικῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ (vac.) (ἔτους) Καίσε[α]ρ[ο]ς. In ed. pr. γῆς was omitted. J. R. Rea.  
735 (= ChLA IV 275). 8. For πραιτων read πραι(ειδίου) Κοήν(ης). *ZPE* 42 (1981) 108.  
794 20-1. Perhaps restore Θμ[ου] ]<sup>21</sup>θάθω. XLIX 3489 3 n.  
800 (description). Edition in *CE* 54 (1979) 131-3.
- VIII 1052 26. For Περευούσεωσ read perhaps Περενωόσεωσ. XLIX 3489 3 n.  
1053 28. For τοῖς <δ>πὸ Ταμιτ( ) Τέωσ read τοῖς ποταμίτ(αι) Τέωσ(?). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 204. (Perhaps read rather τέωσ, 'so far, to date', cf. the second payment to *potamitae* in 30. J. R. Rea.) 30. For τῶς <δ>πὸ Τάμ. I. ]εφ. I. ]ε I. ] read [τ]ο[ί]ε[ι] ποταμί[τ(αι)] Ε[ ]]. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 44.  
1106 (= ChLA IV 237). 5. For μετ' read κατ'. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 109 n. 11.
- IX 1173. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65.  
1208 21. For [ύ]πὲρ ε[λλ]ων restore [ύ]πὲρ α[ύ]των. XLIX 3498 30 n.  
X 1235. Cf. *Prometheus* 6 (1980) 97-106.  
1270 5. The archidicastes Celer might be identical with the soldier in P. IFAO III 11. H. Devijver, *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 210-18.  
1271 (= ChLA IV 266). 2. For Μακιανῆς read Μαρκιανῆς.  
6. For Ι[α]χψ a read perhaps γ (ἔτους) ἐ[παγο]μένωι a.  
12. Read and restore perhaps K[al]end[as] Octobres. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 108-9.  
1285 106. For K[ό]μα read perhaps T[ό]κα. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 88, 206.  
1312 (description). For τὸ σικου(?) ἀπὸ Πεκτυέτου εὐρίσκειται read τοσικου - still obscure - ἀπὸ Πεκτὸ εἰτού (= αἰτού) εὐρίσκειται, '. . . (?) from Pecty is to be found here (or 'there')'. For εἰτού = αἰτού see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 234. J. R. Rea.  
1334. On the era date, still a puzzle, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 110.  
1356. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155-65.

- XI 1364. Cf. G. B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy (Hermes, Einzelschr. 44)*, 81–91.
- XII 1537 10. For Γαῖ[ο]υ Ἀιδύμ[ου] Τίρωνος read perhaps Γαῖ[ο]υ Ἰουλι[ου] Τίρωνος. XLIX 3498 2–4 n.
1575. The date is 26 May, A.D. 338. *BASP* 17 (1980) 116.
- XIV 1635 8–10. For the restorations see XLIX 3482 8 n., 9 n.
- XV 1797. Cf. G. B. Kerferd (ed.), *The Sophists and their Legacy (Hermes, Einzelschr. 44)*, 81–91.
1798. Cf. *Amer. Journ. Anc. Hist.* 4 (1979) 97–101.
- XVI 1917 56, 58. On κελλ[ι]α in this text see *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 524–5.
- 1912 123. For Παιεῖδος read Γραεῖδος. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 41.
- 1918 *recto* 11. Λεωνίδου may be a place name rather than a personal name. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 96.
- 1937 7. The place called Φερενωῦς is probably to be identified with Περενωῦς in the Cynopolite nome. XLIX 3489 3 n.
- 1991 4–6. The date is 18 September, A.D. 601. Z. Borkowski.
- XVII 2079. Cf. *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 32 (1979) 128–37.
- 2086 *recto*. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13–14 (1978–9) 245–9.
2094. Further fragments of this piece are published as 3445 below. Dr W. E. H. Cockle has cleaned 2094. The improved readings which follow are his, except where noted: 922–3. Much-damaged traces remain from the ends of these lines. 922 possibly Πελαγη[ι]ος 923 probably στρατη[γ]ικός (or λῆτα[ς]?) 924 read ἄρ[ι]ων 925 read κων[ι]ν 931 read π[ρ]οβ[ο]λεῖς (P.J.P.) 932 read ἐκτ[ρ]ύχων (P.J.P.) 933 read μ[ε]γ[α]λ[ο]ν τ[ῶ]ν δ[ι]οικητῶν 937 read τ[ῶ]ν τε κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ῶ]ν θεῶν 939 read ] δ[ι]εφ[ε]ρ[ο] 1359 read δ[ι]οικητῶν 1362 two letters' space after ἐρ[ω], a trace like a short-mark in the margin 1367 read βλάβ[α]ς 1368 read ἡδύνα 1369 read Δα[μ]περιος.
- XVIII 2158. Cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 155–65.
- 2174 11. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13–14 (1978–9) 149–51.
2202. The top of this document, with the invocation formula, is probably lost. *CE* 56 (1981) 116.
- 2204 5. For Πανιάς read Σπανάς. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 185.
- 2207 27. For Μεγάλου Ρούχως read Μεγάλου Μούχως. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 108.
2225. Cf. *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 32 (1979) 119–27.
- XIX 2245. Cf. *Phil. Class.* 1 (1977) 45–50; *BPEC* N.S. 27 (1979) 79–103.
- XX 2291. Cf. *Emerita* 48 (1980) 249–50.
- XXI 2338. Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 77–8.
- XXII 2369. Cf. *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 23–9.
- XXIV 2411. Cf. *SDHI* 44 (1978) 452–60.
- XXVII 2459 1. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 60.
2478. The top of this document, with the invocation formula, is lost. *CE* 56 (1981) 117. 17–21. In the translation of εὐγνωμονεῖν... κ[α]ί τ[α]ς διδομένας παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑθους γεουχικάς ὑπηρεσίας for 'and perform all the estate tasks usually presented by it' (i.e. αὐτοῦ = τοῦ πωμαρίου), read 'and perform all the estate tasks usually contributed by him' (i.e. αὐτοῦ = τοῦ πωμαρίου). I. F. Fikhman, *Klio* 63 (1981) 605–8; cf. *id.* in *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 476.
- 2479 6. For ] καὶ τ[ω] ἐλε[ν] [ ] προσέρχομαι read οὐ[τ]ω] κἀγὼ ὁ ἐλεε[ν] [ ] προσέρχομαι. 8. For ἀνέστην read perhaps ἀπέστην. 11. For ἀναγραφῆναι read ἀπογραφῆναι. 19–20. For ὑπὲρ οὐδ' ἂν σπείρω read ὑπὲρ οὐδ' ἂν σπείρω. *ZPE* 38 (1980) 246–8.
- XXXI 2565. Cf. *ZRG* Röm. Abt. 97 (1980) 91, 96.
- 2588 7. For ὄν read οὐ. XLIX 3486 3 n.
- 2611 16–17. Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 74.
- XXXIII 2665 24 n. The statement that year 13 (Constantian and Galerian) and 1 (Severus and Maximinus) has not appeared in the documents is wrong. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 30.
- XXXIV 2719. Another text similarly entitled σημάςια (P. Osl. inv. 1621) has been published in *Symb. Osl.* 56 (1981) 103–4. 9. For οἰκία ἐπτάστερος cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 522–3.
- 2723 24. Restore something like ἐὰν δέ τι φανῆ ἔξακολουθοῦν... XLIX 3498 33–4 n.

- XXXV 2744 ii 32–6. Cf. *Anagenesis* 1 (1981) 23–30.
- XXXVI 2745. Cf. *Stud. Pap.* 19 (1980) 45–7.
2767. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 519–20.
- XXXVII 2811 5. Cf. *Mus. Crit.* 13–14 (1978–9) 41–3.
- XXXVIII 2847 10–11. Read παρ' ἡμε[τε]ρ[ῶ]ν ἐπι[κ]ε[κ]ε[ν]τ[ῶ]ν, 'is revised in alternate years'. See also under XLII 3047 7. J. R. Rea.
- XXXIX 2890 front. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 91–6.
- XLI 2949. Cf. *ZNTW* 72 (1981) 216–26.
- 2967 11. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 183, doubts the reading μέτε[ρ] (τ) το(παρχία)ς Κρῶ [τῶ] (πρω), since many other references show that Seo was in the Upper toparchy. Inspection of the original confirmed that everything after το(παρχία)ς is doubtful, and no convincing solution was reached. R. A. Coles.
2969. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519–20.
2993. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519–20.
2994. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr.*, 519–20.
- XLII 3047 7. Read ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ' ἡμε[τε]ρ[ῶ]ν – παραγίας pap. – [ἐ]πι[κ]ε[κ]ε[ν]τ[ῶ]ν, 'in the category of (lands) revised in alternate years'. See also under XXXVIII 2847 10–11. J. R. Rea.
3057. Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 289 and Pl. XII.
3070. Cf. C. Gallavotti, *Museum Criticum* 13–14 (1978–9) 363–9.
- XLIII 3096. Cf. *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 140–4.
- 3120 3. In μολαίω Λευκαδέου the second element may be a place name rather than a personal name. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 95.
- XLIV 3182. Correct the date in the heading from 22 August to 23 August. This is the date of the main body of the text, Mesore 30 = 23 August (line 16). The notice was delivered on Mesore Epagomenon 2 = 25 August (line 18) and the duty was to be done on Mesore Epagomenon 4 = 27 August (line 7). Cf. XLVI 3293 13–14 n.
- XLVI 3285. Cf. *ZRG* Röm. Abt. 96 (1979) 268–71.
- 3289 22 n. The note is wrong. The Caesar whose name is lost must have been Saloninus, because the year is the sixth of the reign and Saloninus had already replaced Valerian Caesar in Mesore of the fifth year, see XXXI 2560 23. J. R. Rea.
- 3298 2 n. To the references for κόρυφος add SB XII 11129, 5–6 = P. Mich. Michael (Diss. Ann Arbor 1966; University Microfilms 1970) 27. 5–6. It is there interpreted as a proper name.
3307. Cf. *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 433–4, 439–40.
3314. Cf. *Scritti... Montevercelli*, 407–11.
- XLVII 3317. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 27–30.
- 3333 21 n. There were four, not three, villages called Psobthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The same mistake was made in 3358 5 n. See XLIX 3503 13 n. and now P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 223–6.
- 3358 5 n. See above under 3333 21 n.
- XLIX 3508 30. Probably we should take ἐκ Κατιστορέλου και Διοφάντου as a misreading by the writer of the papyrus of ἐκ κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ῶ]ν – ὁ κ[α]τ[ὰ] τ[ῶ]ν – Ἀριστορέλου και Διοφάντου. The plate in the first edition, *ZPE* 24 (1977) Taf. II, makes it very clear how κ[α]τ[ὰ] came to be misread as καπ. J. R. Rea.
- P. Oxy. Hels. 44. 1. For τὸ . read τὸ δ. The date is February/March, A.D. 324: *BASP* 17 (1980) 116. 48. 26–7. On πολλὰ πράσσοντα see *BASP* 18 (1981) 80–1.
- P. Tebt. II 271. Plate in *Archiv* 16 (1956) Taf. I (C; opp. p. 32). 556 (description). Edition in *Akten XIII Int. Papyrologenkongresses*, 207–11. 586 (description). Edition and two plates in *Akten XIII Int. Papyrologenkongresses*, 211–14, Taf. I and II.
- III. i 690. Plate in *Archiv* 16 (1956) Taf. IV (L; opp. p. 49).
692. Cf. *CQ* N.S. 30 (1980) 23–9. Plate in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) Tav. 11b (between pp. 40 and 41).
697. Plate in *Scrittura e Civiltà* 4 (1980) Tav. 12 (between pp. 40 and 41).
- O. Fay. 17 (P. Fay. p. 324). Cf. R. Pintaudi, *Misc. Pap.*, 103–4.
- P. Turner 4. Cf. *ZPE* 42 (1981) 23–5.
17. 8. For ωδεγεγίαι. [ read ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τρι[ων]. XLIX 3487 8–9 n.

## V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

## 3461. RECORD OF TRANSFER TAX ON HOUSE

34 4B. 77/O (1-2)b

12.5 × 29.5 cm.

25 August 46 B.C.

A document recording details of the house and property bought by Ammonas son of Hierax from Diomedes and Charia, on which a transfer tax (*ἐγκύκλιον*) of 5% was payable, cf. UPZ II pp. 88 ff., P. Hib. I 70(a) introd. The sale was not regarded as completed until this tax had been paid and the sale registered with the appropriate authority, at this time the agoranomus, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Laws*<sup>2</sup>, 321.

The original sale in this case had been made 'according to Egyptian contracts', i.e. contracts drawn up in demotic following the provisions of Egyptian law, cf. Taubenschlag, *Laws*<sup>2</sup>, 319 n. 1. Typical examples are the demotic contracts from Socnopaeu Nesu published by E. A. E. Reymond in *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 49 (1966-7) 464-96 and 52 (1969-70) 218-30. In cases of this type a summary of the contract was made in Greek and this served as the basis for the tax record, cf. UPZ II 163-9; 173-5; 182-4; 188.

The back of the papyrus is blank except for some smudges of ink down the right-hand edge.

βασιλέσσης Κλεοπάτρας  
(ἔτους) ζ' Μεσο(ρῆ) κζ.  
(vac.)

Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἰέρακ[ο]ς, τέλος  
οἰκίας τριςτέγου κ[...]. . . .  
5 ἀλλῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ ν[ό]του καὶ λιβικ(οῦ)  
μέρος τῆς οἰκίας, πάντων βίκων  
ἕξ ἡμίμου, ὡς ἐὰν .[...]. . . . .  
καὶ τῆς εἰς ταῦται εἰσόδ(ου) καὶ [ἐξόδου  
καὶ τῶν κυκρόντων [πάντων  
10 ὄντων ἐν κόμῃ [ . . . . . τῆς  
μέσης τοπαρχίας, ἃς ἐωνήσατο  
παρ(ὰ) Διομήδης [ c. 10-15  
καὶ Χαρίας .[.]. [ c. 10 κατὰ  
Ἀγ(υπ)τίας κυνγρ(α)φᾶς [ c. 15

1 I. βασιλέσσης 2 Iζ' μεσ<sup>ο</sup> 4 I. τριςτέγου 5 λιβι<sup>ο</sup>? 6 I. μέρους 7 I. ἡμίμου 8 I.  
ταῦτας; εισ<sup>ο</sup> 9 I. κυκρόντων 12 παρ<sup>ο</sup>, I. Διομήδους 14 αυ<sup>ο</sup> κυνγρ<sup>ο</sup>; I. κυνγρᾶφᾶς

<sup>1</sup> Year six of Queen Cleopatra, Mesore 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ammonas son of Hierax: tax on a three-storeyed house. . . a courtyard on the south-western side of the house, in all six and a half *bikai*. . . and rights of entrance and exit to these and all appurtenances, situated in the village of. . . in the Middle toparchy, which he purchased from Diomedes son of. . . and from Charia. . . according to Egyptian contracts. . .'

<sup>1-2</sup> The date has been converted according to the tables of P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne* (P. Lugd-Bat. xv), 9-18.

<sup>4</sup> After ]ροϛ the remains look most like an eta; not therefore, καὶ τῆς προσόψεϛ, cf. F. Luckhardt, *Privathaus*, 53. Just possible is κ[αὶ π]ροϛκ[υρ]σοϛ, cf. BGU I 275. 6, but this would be cramped.

<sup>5</sup> For the courtyard as an integral part of the dwelling see *Bull. Ryl. Libr.* 48 (1965-6) 459-60, Taubenschlag, *Laws*<sup>2</sup>, 243.

<sup>6</sup> The extent of the *bikos* is still unknown, cf. XLVII 3334. 8 n.

<sup>7</sup> ἡμίμου. For this form of the genitive see Mayser I ii<sup>2</sup> 55.

<sup>8</sup> ὡς ἐὰν. [ . . ]επι[. After nu the traces look like omega. The context suggests a formula covering a slight variation in the area of the property, e.g. (measurement) so many ἡ ὄκου ἐὰν ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον. This formula, which is quite common in property contracts, is found with a number of variations such as P. Lond. II 401. 12 (p. 14), BGU II 543. 5, IV 1158. 9, P. Tebt. II 382. 13, cf. H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Massangaben der Papyrusurkunden*, but I have been unable to find a precise parallel. For constructions of this type with present and aorist subjunctive after ἐὰν see Mayser II i 263-5.

<sup>9</sup> κυκρόντων. For loss of nasal before kappa see Mayser I i<sup>2</sup> 164. On the transfer of appurtenances see Taubenschlag, *Laws*<sup>2</sup>, 243 n. 16, K. Durst, *Zubehör und Unternehmen im Rechte der Papyri* (Giessen, 1938), 32 ff.

<sup>12</sup> The gap contained Diomedes' patronymic, perhaps preceded by τοῦ.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps τ[ῆ]ς [γυναικός] or τ[ῆ]ς [ἀδελφῆς] vel sim.

<sup>13-14</sup> κατὰ Ἀγ(υπ)τίας κυνγρ(α)φᾶς. For the supplement and the expansion of the abbreviations cf. P. Hib. I 70(b). 4-6.

<sup>14</sup> .[. After rho there is the lower left tip of a diagonal; restore perhaps χ[ι]λακοῦ, followed by the price of the house and the amount of transfer tax payable on it, cf. UPZ II 164, 165.

## 3462. ACCOUNT

34 4B. 77/O (3-4)a

16.5 × 15 cm.

First century B.C.

Only the foot and the ends of twelve lines of this account survive. The handwriting looks late Ptolemaic or early Roman, cf. M. Norsa, *Scripturae documentariae*, Tav. IX (PSI VIII 968), R. Seider, *Paläographie d. griech. Papyri*, I no. 20. The back is blank.

The unit of account is represented by an abbreviation of unknown meaning, consisting of rho with a superscript arch which is probably a vestigial pi, see 2 n. This is followed by two figures. Where these are not identical, the second is the lower, suggesting that the first was an assessment, the second a figure valid at the time of writing. The units are booked to inhabitants of Oxyrhynchite villages, in one case to the elders of the village, and this is possibly to be understood in the other cases.

In 5 a new section begins with a heading, 'To the elders of Pela for the *diazoma* of Paimis'. The word *διάζωμα* has not appeared before in the papyri, and the only clue to its meaning here is that a canal is mentioned above in what may be a similar heading (2). It is used in Aristotle to refer to the diaphragm, and one of the other meanings of *διάφραγμα* is a lock in a canal, see especially Diod. Sic. I 33 *ad fin.* Canal

and 'lock', if rightly interpreted, suggest that the papyrus has to do with work on the irrigation system. If so, one would expect the unit to be either the *ναύβιον*, a cubic measure, or the *σχοίνιον*, a linear measure. Perhaps (π)ρ( ) is a part of or a cognate of *προστίθημι*, indicating that these are additional units required from the villagers against their usual annual obligation, cf. P. Petrie III p. 343 line 74.

There is an interesting comparison to be made between this text and P. Mich. inv. 4121, published in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 133-7, which contains a record of linear work on a canal assigned to various Oxyrhynchite villages, including three mentioned here. The editor pointed out in 12-24 n. that the amount of work was assigned in accordance with the size of the villages. The figures for the three villages can be tabulated as follows.

	3462		P. Mich.	
Pela	75	75	54½	schoenia
Seryphis	60	40	20	schoenia
Paimis	15	15 (30?)	10	schoenia

It is not surprising that the ratios are not exactly the same, since P. Mich. is of the late third or early fourth century A.D. They are near enough to favour the idea that the figures in 3462 represent the assessment of a levy on the villages according to their size.

The two villages mentioned in 4 and 5 in connexion with a hitherto unknown canal called *Munthoteu* are of the Lower toparchy, those in lines 5-10, where identifiable, are of the Western toparchy. The fact that they are in the same area geographically but fall administratively into two different toparchies suggests that the account was concerned only with a particular locality. Had it dealt with the whole nome, one might expect to have found the villages listed according to the official order of the toparchies, running from south to north, cf. X 1285, XIV 1659, 1747. The Lower toparchy would then have come last.

. . . . .

] και τοις ἀπὸ τῆς ξ . . . . . [ . . . ] [

] . . [ . . . ω( ) και Μουνθοτεῦ διώρυγα (π)ρ( ) [ . ] ν

τοις ἀπὸ Σιναρῦ (π)ρ( ) ξ μ

. . . . . ( ) L τοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρόφωτος Ἰσι(είου) (π)ρ( ) ξ μ

5 τοις ἀπὸ Πέλ(α) πρεσβυτέροις ὡστε εἰς τὸ τῆς

] Παῖμε(ως) διάζωμ(α) (π)ρ( ) ρε οε

] τοις ἀπὸ Σερ( ) ὀμ(οίως) (π)ρ( ) ξ μ

τοῖς ἀπὸ Ζ. ω( ) (π)ρ( ) κξ κε

τοῖς ἀπὸ Παῖμε(ως) (π)ρ( ) ιε ιε ` ,'

10 τοῖς ἀπὸ Σενοκ(ώμειος) (π)ρ( ) ιε ιε  
(γίνονται) Ἀχι  
] (ὦν?) φκε τρ (γίνονται) λ λ

2 ] . . .<sup>ω</sup>, ρ - also in 3-4, 6-10 4 . . . , ἐ 5 πελ<sup>ι</sup> 6 παμ<sup>ι</sup> διαζω<sup>ι</sup> 7 σερ<sup>ι</sup> 8 ζ. <sup>ω</sup>

9 παμ<sup>ι</sup> 10 σενο<sup>κ</sup> 11 / Ἀχι 12 / φκε, / λ λ

'... and to those from the... and Munthoteu canal pr( ) ? 50  
To those from Sinary pr( ) 60 40  
... to those from Tryphonis Isieum pr( ) 60 40  
To the elders from Pela for the lock(?) of Paimis pr( ) 75 75  
To those from Ser(yphis?) likewise pr( ) 60 40  
To those from Z... pr( ) 25 25  
To those from Paimis pr( ) 15 15, 30(?)  
To those from Senocomis pr( ) 15 15  
Total 1,610,  
of which(?) 540 (plus) 390 total 930.'

2 At the beginning *διάζωμ(α)* cannot be read, though the basic form of the entry may be parallel to 5-6, i.e. τοῖς ἀπὸ . . . ὡστε εἰς . . . διώρυγα. The letter before the raised omega may be kappa.

*Μουνθοτεῦ*. The name is not listed in WB s.v. *διώρυξ* or in Abschn. 16(a) and 23, nor is it in NB or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The element *Μουν-* may represent an Egyptian word for new land formed by silting, cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 172. *Θοτεῦς* is a common personal name, of which *Θοτεῦ* may be the short genitive, cf. XLIII 3102 5 n., cf. *JJP* 18 (1974) 161, note to line 9.

In the abbreviation (π)ρ( ) the rho is surmounted by a rounded arch which looks like a cursive pi. Similar abbreviations are known to represent words beginning with πρ-, such as πρῶ, πρᾶγμα, πρόβατον, see P. Lond. I index 6(b), RE II A col. 2304. They are used for πρσ- in compounds, see XL 2915 20 n., P. Lond. III index 8(b), and even represent whole words compounded with πρσ-, e.g. πρσβέβηκεν, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* II, 745, and πρσδιαγραφόμενα, see P. Lond. III index 8(b).

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that (π)ρ(ὄβαρα) could be intended here, for the double entries might indicate a comparison with the numbers of sheep declared for a previous registration, but in that case it is difficult to see what relevance the canal and 'lock' have, see introd.

In some abbreviations rho has its numerical value of 100, e.g. ρ = (ἐκατοντάρ)χ(ηρ). One sort of schoenion, the *ιερατικόν* c., has 100 cubits, but π(ηχῶν ἐκατόν) seems an unlikely way out of the difficulty.

4 The traces at the beginning of the line suggest an entry similar to the others, running τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀπ(.), but there is no known place-name which suits. It is also hard to find a suitable expansion for the L-shaped symbol, which might mean (ξρσ), (ημσ) or (ὦν), see RE II A cols. 2305, 2306, 2297, W. Gds. p. xiv. The letter after Ἀπ is superscript, and might possibly be epsilon or eta.

5 πρεσβυτέροις. Cf. perhaps P. Petrie III p. 341 πρεσβύτεροι οἱ τὰ χωμάτα και περιχώματα φυλάσσοντες. For village elders in general see *BAB* 38 (1952) 95-130, 467-532.

For ὡστε εἰς see E. Mayer, *Grammatik*, II, 3 p. 97.

6 διάζωμ(α). See introd. The village of Paimis was north of Oxyrhynchus and very close to it, see XII 1475. 22 n.

7 Σερ( ). The form of the abbreviation, an L-shaped sign raised above rho, recalls the so-called 'Hakenalpha', see *Archiv* I (1900-1) 362, and suggests that alpha should be the next letter. However, Σερ(ὄψεως) is a very likely expansion, since this is the name of a large village in the Western toparchy, the toparchy into which Pela, Paimis, and Senocomis also fall.

8 Ζ. ω( ). No suitable place-name is known. Possibly ζωω( ) = (Ἐπτα)κω(μίαι) might be intended, but the only known villages of this name are in the Apollonopolite and Sebennyte nomes, see WB Abschn. 16(a) s.v.

9 The small superscript letter suits a = 1 or λ = 30. In one way λ = 30 would be helpful, because the alteration of 15 to 30 here would correspond very well with the alteration in line 12 of 525 to 540.

On the other hand it would destroy the regularity by which the first figure in each entry is always as large as or larger than the second, see introd. Since the *diazoma* was in Paimis, see 5-6, the villagers may have felt that it was in their interest to do more than the assessed amount.

12 The first symbol is a tall upright slightly inclined to the right. The foot, which descends below the base-line, is finished with a sharp hook upwards to the right. It is probably the equivalent of the L-shaped symbol for  $\delta\nu$ , cf. 4 n.

The sum  $540 + 390 = 930$  shows that the superscript  $\mu$  was intended to alter 525 into 540, although  $\kappa\epsilon$  has not been cancelled, cf. 9, where  $\lambda = 30$  perhaps replaces the uncanceled  $\iota\epsilon = 15$ . The change in 12 looks like the consequence of the one in 9. Perhaps, therefore, the total 1,610 in line 11 is the total assessed, 930 the total reached to date, but it is not clear why there are two sub-totals of 540 and 390. On the other hand 540 might be the total of the first set of figures in each entry and 390 the total of the second. In that case the totalling of the figures would show that the hypothesis of assessment and performance was wrong, and that the change in 12 was not the consequence of the one in 9. It would also be difficult to explain the larger total in 11.

### 3463. APPLICATION FOR THE EPHEBATE

36 4B. 92/H (1-2)a

14.5 x 36.5 cm.

Between 10 January  
and 29 August A.D. 58

An application by Heracleides, an Alexandrian citizen presumably resident in Oxyrhynchus, concerning the admission of his son Theon as an ephebe: on Alexandrians in the Chora see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 55-8 and 113-22; on the Alexandrian ephebate, P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 150-60, W. Gdz. 139 ff., O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, 183-4.

The papyrus is broken at the top left-hand corner and badly rubbed down the right-hand edge. There are large margins, with 7 cm. left blank at the top, 16.5 cm. at the bottom, and 2.3 cm. down the left-hand side. The writing, done in a smallish practised cursive similar to M. Norsa, *Scrittura Documentaria*, Tav. XIV (top left), but with more ligaturing, therefore takes up less than half the sheet. The writer possibly expected the addressee to add a subscription dealing with his case. In the last four lines the writing becomes noticeably thinner and more difficult to read, suggesting that the scribe may have re-sharpened his pen at this point. The back is blank.

This piece is a useful addition to our knowledge of the process whereby boys were received into the Alexandrian ephebate, which was the customary method of entry to the Alexandrian citizenship during the Roman period, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 177.

There are several applications for admission to the Alexandrian ephebate (W. Chr. 144 = III 477; SB IV 7333; PSI XII 1225 - with corrections in *BASP* 12 (1975) 122-5; *JJP* 18 (1974) 177-8) and a recent study by C. A. Nelson in *Akten XIII Int. Pap. Kongresses*, 309-14, has discussed the various steps and groups of officials involved in the process. In addition W. Chr. 143 (P. Flor. I 57 = III 382). 67-91 and SB V 7561 give some idea of the details.

The present document, however, differs from the normal applications in several respects. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the statement that at a ceremony held

in the Great Serapeum of Alexandria the boy had had his long hair cut off in honour of the city, see 6 n. His qualifications were deficient in at least three respects: he had not been presented at any of the presentation ceremonies held previously (*παραστάσεις* 19, another hitherto unknown feature of the procedure); his name was not in the lists of intending ephebes (*μέλλακες* 20); and he lacked certain documentary proofs of his status (*χρόνοι* 21).

In the normal cases the applicant asked the exegetes and his colleagues to order *τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὐκ* to tell *οἷς καθήκει* to instruct the *cosmetes* and *gymnasiarch* to admit the boy. (For the identity of these unnamed officials see the discussion in the article by C. A. Nelson mentioned above.) In this case the applicant asked the exegetes to give orders directly to the *cosmetes* and *gymnasiarch* to admit the boy on the evidence of the official record of the ceremony of cutting his hair. The exegetes was also asked to verify this record and then to give instructions to other persons, whose titles are obscured by damage to the text, see 14 n., 15 n. The phrase is not *τοῖς πρὸς τούτοις οὐκ οἷς καθήκει*; perhaps the most likely thing is that it covered both categories. In any case the exegetes was to tell them to subscribe the documents relating to the admission of the boy as an ephebe and not to raise difficulties because of the three deficiencies in his qualifications described above. The last three and a half lines, after a change to a thinner point, are not yet fully deciphered. There is a reference to the boy's *ἀπαρχή*, see 22 n., and a mention of an Alexandrian tribe and deme.

Τιβερίωι Κλαυ]δίωι Π[ο]τάρμωι ἱερεὶ ὑπομνηματογράφω  
καὶ ἐξηγητῇ γενομένωι ἀρχι]δικαστῇ καὶ στρ[α]τηγῷ τῆς πόλεως  
καὶ τ[ο]ῖς Καικα]ρ[ε]ίοις καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ο]ν [σ]υντάξει (vac.)  
παρὰ Ἡρακ[λεί]δου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου Ἀλθαίεω τῶν τὸ δωδέκατον  
ἔτος  
5 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἐφηβευκότων. ὁ γεγὼς μοι ἐκ Ποσει-  
δωνίας τῆς [.]. ολλ. . ου ἀτῆς υἱὸς Θέων ἐκάρη τὸν μαλλὸν κατὰ  
τιμὴν τῆς πόλεως τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Τύβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
ἔτους ἐν τῷ [μ]εγάλῳ Σεραπιδεῖω παρόντος τῶν ἱερέω καὶ ὑπο-  
10 [μ]νηματογ[ρ]άφου καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ. ἀκολούθως δὲ τοῖς γεγὼσι ὑπο-  
μνηματι[μ]οῖς <ς>ου καὶ βουλόμενος τὰ τῆς εἰςκρίσεως ἐπιτελεῖν  
εἰς τοὺς τὸ ἐ[νε]στὸς τέταρτον ἔτος Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
Σεβαστοῦ Γε[ρ]μανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἐφήβου ἀξιώ συντάξει  
τῷ τε κοσμητῇ καὶ τῷ γυμνασιάρχῳ τοῖς οὐκ προσδέξασθαι  
αὐτὸν εἰς τ[ο]ῦτ[ο]ς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτ[ο]ς ἐφήβου καὶ ἐπισκεψαμεν . . . τῶν  
15 προκειμένων[ο]ν ὑπομνηματιμῶν εἰπεῖν τῶν . . . . .  
ὑπογράψαι μ[ο]ι τοὺς πρὸς τὴν εἰςκριεὶν καὶ ἐφηβείαν αὐτοῦ χρη-



μ[α]τιμους, ἐπικριθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦτ[ο] τὸ ὑπόμνημα  
ἐπιστέλλον[το] ἀναγνώστου, μὴ παραποδίσαι παρ' ὅσον οὐ  
παρεστάθ[η] ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχθεϊῶν παραστάσεων οὐδ' ἐστὶν  
20 ἐν ταῖς τῶ[ν] μ[ε]λλάκων γραφαῖς μηδὲ παρ' ὅσον ἐνλείπει  
τινας χρό[νο]υς ἐκ τοῦ .[.]...ου τοῦ α...ωνος τῶν ἐκ...  
...[.]...φ.π.[...]...ων...[.]...φ.ης τέταγμα αὐτοῦ ἀπαρχῆ.  
[.]...[.]...αυτοῦ...[κ]ρμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαίεως, ἔν' ὧ  
πεφιλανθρ[ωπ]ημένος.

'To [Tiberius Clau]d[ius] Potamon(?) priest, hypomnematographus [and exegetes, former archi]-  
dicastes and strategus of the city, and to the Caesarei and the other prytaneis, from Heraclides son of  
Heraclides, of the Althaeon deme, one of those who entered the ephbate in the twelfth year of Tiberius  
Caesar Augustus. My son Theon, born to Poseidonia daughter of... citizenship, had his long hair cut  
off in honour of the city on the fifteenth of Tybi of the present year in the Great Serapeum, in the presence  
of the priest and hypomnematographus and exegetes. In accordance with your records made on that  
occasion and in the desire to complete the formalities of induction into the ephebes of the present fourth  
year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, I request (you) to order the cosmetes  
and the gymnasiarch currently in office to admit him to the ephebes of the same year, and, after examining  
the aforesaid records, to tell the... to subscribe for me the documents relating to his induction and  
ephbate, since he has been scrutinized by the reader who sends this memorandum, without their raising  
obstacles inasmuch as he has not been presented at the presentations which have taken place and is not  
in the lists of intending ephebes, or inasmuch as he is lacking certain extracts from the records...'

1 Τιβερῖου Κλαυ[δίου]. Iota, omega and iota are certain. Delta is less sure, but the scribe regularly  
makes this letter with the diagonals crossing at the top and this fits the traces here. The name would  
be a fitting one given the status of the official and the date of the document. At this time Roman citizenship  
in Egypt was the personal gift of the emperor, whose names the new citizen would take, so that Potamon  
may have been one of those granted citizenship by Claudius, cf. XXVII 2471 3 n. As an Alexandrian  
citizen he was already a step on the way to Roman citizenship: Pliny, *Epp.* vi. 7. 10. A Claudius Potamon  
appears in XLVI 3271 2, but there is no reason to identify him with this official.

ὑπομνηματογράφου: an office of great importance at Alexandria, dating from Ptolemaic times, and  
involving the superintendence of the prefect's chancery: XII 1412 1-3 n., cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*,  
340-2, P. Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 32 ff. and 47-8. I follow the view of F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 351-4, that  
there was only one type of hypomnematographus. For a summary of other views, see P. Oxy. XL p. 31,  
and, for a general discussion of the various Alexandrian officials, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*,  
I 93-105, especially 96-8.

2 καὶ ἐξηγητή. For the supplement cf. 8-9 παρόντος τῶν ἱερέως καὶ ὑπο[μ]νηματο[γ]ράφου καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ,  
9-10 τοῖς... ὑπομνηματι[μ]οῖς (< >). The parallels show that the document is addressed to an exegetes.  
Two of them also have other offices held at the same time, in one case the neocorate (*W. Chr.* 144 = III  
477), in the other the supervision of the chrematistae, etc. (SB IV 7333). See also *W. Chr.* 143. 75-6,  
where the exegetes is also neocorus and ἐπὶ τῆς εθνήσιας.

ἀρχιδουκαστή. For discussion of the functions of the archidicastes and list of known holders of the  
office, see A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406-24. The latest list, in which Potamon does not appear, is  
in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*, 103-55.

στρατηγῶ τῆς πόλεως: captain of the civil guard at Alexandria, a Ptolemaic royal and later an  
Imperial appointment but ranking much lower in power and status than the strategi of the nomes, cf.  
P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 193-5, F. Bilabel, *RE* IVA i (1931) 247-9, R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 575,  
A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, 474-5, nn. 8 and 10.

3 The traces at the beginning of the line are minimal and not certainly parts of the letters to which  
they are assigned, but they show that the address (1 3) was set out to the left, cf. e.g. PSI XII 1225.

τοῖς Καυα[ρο]σίαις: the imperial nominees included in Roman times on the executive board of the  
prytaneis, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, 303. For earlier interpretations see *W. Gdz.* 47, *W. Chr.* 144  
5 n., P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 157.

4 Ἀλθαίεως: originally in the tribe Dionysia but later associated with a number of tribes, see below  
23 n. On the Alexandrian demes in general see P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 121-50, P. M. Fraser,  
*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 39-46, and cf. P. Oxy. XXVII 2465, a fragment of Satyrus, *On the Demes of  
Alexandria*. Although Alexandrian citizens often referred to themselves simply as Ἀλεξανδρεῖς οἱ πολῖται  
in Ptolemaic times, and as δεῖκοι in Roman times, the demotic always remained the correct designation  
for an Alexandrian to use in official documents, see *JEA* 48 (1962) 122-3.

4-5 Year 12 Tiberius = A.D. 25/6. The designation of the year in which Heraclides obtained his  
citizenship through the ephbate, together with his patronymic and demotic, enables the authorities to  
check his name in the ephbic records, a necessary step in establishing his son's entitlement to citizen  
status, cf. P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 150-60.

5 The omicron of the article of ὁ γεγονός is written roughly double the size of the other letters,  
indicating the beginning of the petition. For the use of a large initial letter to begin a new section, cf.  
III 473 2 = E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, no. 69.

6 [.] οὐδ. ου. The writing between λλ and ου looks like a cursive phi with the roundel entirely  
to the left of the vertical or like omega ligatured to a large iota. One might suspect that the name  
was [Δ]ηρολλωφῶν with ου written so fast that the nu actually disappeared. The position would also suit  
ἀδελφῆς, see III 477 (= *W. Chr.* 144). 13, but this cannot be read.

ἀστῆς: i.e. a citizeness of Alexandria, the normal meaning of the word at this period, cf. *RIDA* 4  
(1950) 7-20, *JEA* 48 (1962) 120, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II 116, n. 24. Heraclides states  
that his wife is an aste in order to prove his son's right to Alexandrian citizenship.

ἐκάθη τὸν μαλλόν. LSJ s.v. μαλλός (2) gives 'tress Hsch.', which is misleading, though 'tresses' might  
do, because Hesychius says that μαλλός means simply long hair; μαλλός. τὸ ἔριον. καὶ ἡ καθεμένη κόμη  
κτλ. For the whole phrase cf. Hesych. s.v. οὐνεστῆρια. Ἀθήνηεν οἱ μέλλοντες ἐφηβείην, πρὶν ἀποκείρασθαι  
(read ἀποκείρασθαι) τὸν μαλλόν, εἰσέφερον Ἡρακλεῖ μέτρον οἴνου κτλ. Cf. Athen. XI 494 f., Photius, *Lex.*  
s.v. οὐνεστῆρια (= Eupolis, fr. 135 Kock = 102 Edmonds), Pollux VI 22 (οὐνεστῆρια).

This phrase throws a new light on τοὺς μαλλοκουρή[τα]ς?, (οἱ -ή[των]?), XXIV 2407 38, emended in  
the note there to μελλο-, on the evidence of XII 1484, an invitation to dinner ὑπὲρ μελλοκουρίων τῶν  
[ἀδελφῶν] ἐν τῷ Θ[ο]σρέιῳ. A photograph shows that the second letter of the key word is very rapidly  
written, but μαλλοκουρίων is a possible reading and one strongly suggested by the present document. For  
[ἀδελφῶν?] a more plausible conjecture would be [υἴων μου?].

P. Lond. inv. 3078 may suggest that a celebration of a similar kind was held for girls, see *JEA* 61  
(1975) 251-4. However, in that document εἰς μελλο- οἱ μαλλοκού[ρια] τῆς θ[υ]γατρὸς αὐτοῦ is not a certain  
restoration.

7 11 January A.D. 58. The year is given in line 11.

8 τῷ [μ]εγάλῳ Σεραπίδει: the main Alexandrian temple of Serapis situated on Rhacotis Hill; the  
epithet distinguishes it from other Serapea in or just outside the city, A. Calderini, *Dis. geogr.* s.v.  
'Alexandria', P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 268-70 and II 83-91, nn. 190-1. On the form  
Σεραπίδειον see R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, I 163, note on *Diag.* IV. 4.

παρόντος τῶν ἱερέως. This seems to be the best interpretation of the damaged writing, but comparison  
with the partially preserved address (ἐρεῖ ὑπομνηματογράφου..., 1) and with the reference to the  
addressee's record of proceedings (ὑπομνηματι[μ]οῖς (< >ου, 9-10) suggests that we ought to correct it  
to παρόντος (<ου>) τοῦ ἱερέως κτλ.

9 ἐξηγητοῦ. On this official see P. Jouguet, *Vie municipale*, 315-18, F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 325-9,  
A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, 303 and 474, n. 8.

10 ἐπιτελεῖν. The parallels use τελεσιῶν in this connexion, see SB IV 7333. 35, *JJP* 18 (1974) 178  
(line 8), *W. Chr.* 144 (= III 477). 19 (with BL II 95). In PSI XII 1225. 15-16 τελοῦσι should be corrected  
to τελοῦσι = τελεσιῶσι, as Dr Pintaudi kindly confirmed from the original. The compound ἐπιτελεσιῶν has  
not so far appeared in the papyri, see *ZPE* 18 (1975) 214 and n. 2.

11 Year 4 Nero = A.D. 57/8.

13 τῶ τε κομ[η]τῆ καὶ τῶ γυμνασιάρχου. It is they who would have been responsible for undertaking the training of the new ephebe, see C. A. Nelson, *Akten XIII Int. Pap. Kongresses*, 309 14. Nelson sees these officials solely as ephebic supervisors, with no hand in the certification of the ephebe, but the ciskrisis application published by R. A. Coles, *JJP* 18 (1974) 177-8, seems to me to stand outside this theory, in that in lines 5-7 the applicant promises to see that the gymnasiarch is satisfied when he returns from his journey. This suggests that the gymnasiarch too may have had some interest in the bureaucratic side of these cases.

14 ἐπισκεψάμεν . . . τῶς. The remains are very scanty. The introduction assumes either ἐπισκεψάμενον (sc. ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξηγητήν), cf. 9-10 ὑπομηματικ[μ]οῖς (<ς>ου, or ἐπισκεψάμενος, since the application is addressed to other officials also, and since three of the parallels have ὑμᾶς before συντάξαι in the place where ours has ἀξίῳ συντάξαι, see *W. Chr.* 144 (= III 477). 15, *JJP* 18 (1974) 178 (line 2), PSI XII 1225. 12. So too SB IV 7333. 30 probably reads ἀξίῳ ὑμῶς συντάξαι rather than ἀξίῳ συντάξαι γράψαι, as Dr G. Poethke kindly reports from the original. Much less likely is ἐπισκεψάμενος referring to the cosmetes and gymnasiarch, since it would be odd for the exegetes to instruct them to check his records.

15 τῶς . . . . . See introd. for a guess about the sense. The damage is extensive, but the right suggestion could probably be verified.

17-18 ἐπικριθέντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦτ[ο] τὸ ὑπόμημα ἐπιστέλλον[το]ς ἀναγνώστων. The last word appears in the papyri frequently as meaning a Christian lector, a clerk in minor orders, but only once in any other sense. P. Berl. Möller 1 = SB IV 7338 is a contract to settle a dispute about a deposit between two ladies, each of whom acts through her own male representative (συνεστῆς). Near the end both declare that they are illiterate and have appointed one man to be their ἀναγνώστης: προσφερόμεναι δὲ αἱ αὐταὶ γράμματα μὴ εἰδέναι παρέστησαν ἐναντίαι ἀναγνώστην Αἰρήλιον (blank for c. 15 letter-spaces) [ . It is possible that the reader was the official in charge of the notarial office of the locality, i.e. restore after the space left blank for the insertion of the name [τὸν - τοῦ ed. pr. - πρὸς τῶ γραφεῖ[ω]. But this is only a guess. It is not certain what function the reader performed there, see P. Berl. Möller p. 20 for a complicated suggestion. Perhaps it is simplest to suppose that the reader's job was to certify that the written version actually did represent the intention of the parties. Here the function of the reader is even more obscure. The scrutiny for Alexandrian citizenship should be conducted by a high official, not somebody supplying the deficiencies of an illiterate applicant. The best guess I can make is that the reader was an official on the staff of the exegetes who scrutinized the boy's qualifications and is to read this application and transmit it to the officials who are to be asked to furnish subscriptions. This is far from compelling; it is certain that new evidence is needed to enable us to understand these processes. That ἀναγνώστης is sometimes an official title is shown by epigraphical references, see LSJ s.v. for ἀ. τῆς πόλεως, ἀ. τῆς γερουσίας, and *RÉG* 47 (1934) 243 for ἀ. τοῦ δήμου.

19 παρατίσεων. These are hitherto unattested. Perhaps the best guess is that they were ceremonies during which the candidates for the ephebate were presented to representatives of the tribe or deme they aspired to enter. A similar case is the presentation of younger children, which helped to establish their status as sons of Antinoite citizens, see P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 1-2 . . . ἐντ[ὶ]ς τῆς ὑπερέμνης προθεσμίας ὑπομ[ή]ματα τῆ βουλῆ \* δεδωκό[τ]ων, ὑπερο[ί] δὲ παρατηρήσαντων τοὺς παῖδας. The details of this process too are unknown.

20 μ[ε]λλάων. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I 86, II 166 (n. 326).

21 After χρ[ο]νο[ς] the writing becomes thinner, as if the scribe had sharpened his pen. On the χρόνος ἐφήβειας see *BASP* 14 (1977) 29-38.

22 Read perhaps ἄφ' ἧς τέταγμα αὐτοῦ ἀπαρχῆς, 'in virtue of(?) his aparche, which I have paid(?)'. The aparche is simultaneously the act, fee, and certificate of registration of a male child as a potential ephebe, or a female child as an ἀστὴ, cf. H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages*, 41 n. 149, H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 521, 8 n., P. Fam. Tebt. 33. 8 n. As such it was an important document to prove the child's eligibility for the ephebate, as *W. Chr.* 143. 81-2 and P. Tebt. II 316 ii 9-11, iii 48-50, iv 82-4 demonstrate.

23 . . . [κ]ριθείον τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαίως. The Althaeon deme is found associated with a number of tribes from the latter part of the first century, cf. A. Calderini, *Dix. geogr.*, 215-16 s.v. Either the Neocosmian or Sosicosmian tribe could be read here, since the spacing and traces are indecisive. This is the earliest

example of the Althaeon deme being mentioned in a 'Doppelangabe' of tribe and deme, cf. W. Schubart, *APF* 5 (1913) 83.

23-4 ἴν' ὃ περιλανθ[ρ]ω[σ]ημένως. The same phrase is used to end two of the normal applications, *W. Chr.* 144 (= III 477) and SB IV 7333.

## 3464. APPLICATION FOR A SUMMONS

36 4 B. 92/H (4) a

165 × 27 cm.

c. A.D. 54-60

A petition of the type known as *παράγγελια, litis denuntiatio*, cf. XXXVIII 2852 introd. It is addressed to C. Iulius Asinianus, strategus of Heracleides' district of the Arsinoite nome, by one Mnesitheus, who asks for a summons to be served on Heration and an accomplice, whose name is lost, in connexion with a dispute over the ownership of land belonging to his wife Maronis. There is no obvious reason why the document should have reached Oxyrhynchus.

The petitioner and his wife and the block of land involved occur also in XLVII 3332. The lady is called Tamaron there, and Maronis in 3464<sup>1</sup>, but the husband Mnesitheus son of Theon and the six aruras of vineland are the same in both texts. Two more references to the husband are given in 3332 4 n., to wit XLI 2972 and XLIV 3163. In all four cases the inventory numbers are the same as far as 36 4 B. 92/H, which indicates that they were found together and are probably the remains of a small private archive.

The application is written in a medium-sized cursive, comparable to R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri*, I no. 23, or P. Ryl. II 95. A subscription has been added in a second hand, a small semi-cursive. This part of the papyrus is very broken and little can be made of the few letters which survive. The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

In A.D. 53/4 Mnesitheus had summoned Heration and others to answer charges. Heration's co-defendants had duly appeared before C. Iulius Iollas (?), the Alexandrian gymnasiarch who was appointed to judge the case by the prefect Geta, and the ownership of Maronis had been confirmed. Heration himself had failed to attend. He still did not appear even when he was summoned by the prefect's public notice. Mnesitheus went off on a journey, since no date for a hearing had been fixed, and now, having returned to find Heration, with an accomplice whose name is lost, trying once again to appropriate Maronis' property, he asks for his adversaries to be summoned to attend the *conventus* of the new prefect, Balbillus.

Γαΐω Ἰουλίω Ἀσιανῶ[ι] στρατηγῶ  
Ἀρκοῖτου

παρὰ Μνησιθέου τοῦ Θέωνος. ἐξ ἧς ἐποιησάμην

<sup>1</sup> Since Ta- prefixed in Demotic Egyptian = 'daughter of', these data can be easily reconciled, and provide reliable and interesting evidence of a bilingual middle-class family. The lady was known indifferently as Tamaron, as θυγάτηρ Μάρωνος, and as Μαρωνίς. (E. G. Turner).

τῶι τεσσαρεςκαιδε[εκ]άτωι ἔτει θεοῦ Κλαυδίου ἐγκλήσειω(ς)  
 5 καὶ διαστρωτικοῦ μεταδόσεως κατὰ τε ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ κατὰ Ἡ[ρ]ατίωνο[ς τ]οῦ Μάρωνος ὡς οὐ δεόντως ἐπικρα-  
 τούτων[ν] τῶν τῆς γυναικός μου Μαρωνίδος ὑπαρχόντων(ων)  
 τοῦ μὲν Ἡ[ρ]ατίωνος περὶ Λητοῦς πόλιν τῆς Ἡρακλείδου με(ρίδος)  
 γῆς ἀμπε[λί]τιδος ἀρ[ο]υρῶν ἕξ, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐτέρων(ν)  
 10 τῆς Μαρων[ί]δος ὑ[π]αρχόντων, ἕσχον ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων  
 ἀπὸ Λουκ[ί]ου Λουκίο[ν] Γέτα τοῦ προηγεμονεύσαντος κρίτη(ν)  
 Γάϊον Ἰούλ[ι]ον Ἰόλλαν ἱερέα καὶ γυμνασίαρχον Ἀλεξανδρεία(ς),  
 ὃς διακούσας ἐμοῦ [τ]ε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔστησεν μεῖναι  
 τῆι γυναικί[μου τῆ]ν κυρείαν ἀκολούθως οἷς ἔχω  
 15 ὑπομνημα[τρισμοῖς]. ἀφανοῦς δὲ τοῦ Ἡρατίωνος γενομέ(νου)  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τ[ῆς δίκης] μὴ παραγενομένου προεγράφη  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Γ[έ]τα διὰ προγ[ράμματος] καὶ μηδ' οὕτως  
 ὀφθέντος[αὐτοῦ] μ[έ]χρι νῦν ξη' ἀλλοδημίας καθιστήκ(ειν)  
 ἐπίτηδες ὡς εἰς τ[ῆ]ν κρίσιν κειροῦ μὴ ἐνστάτος.  
 20 νυνεὶ δ[έ, ἀφ]ιγμ[ένου] μου [καί] μεταλαβόντος ὑ[π]έρ τοῦ  
 Μης. [. . .] [. . .] ἀντιπο[ι]εῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀμπε[λί]τιδος(ς?)  
 γῆς ἀρουρῶν[ἕξ] ἀρουρῶν τρι[ών], ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ Ἡρατίων[α]  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀρουρῶν τ[ρι]ῶν, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς οὐ καθησυχάζων,  
 25 πολλῶ[ι] δὲ μᾶλλον ἀντ[ι]εχόμενος [τ]ῆς κατὰ τῶν ἐγκαλουμέ(νων)  
 ἐγκλήσε[ι]ς[φ]ι[ς, ἐπιδίδω]μι τόδε τὸ ὑπόμνημα καὶ ἀξιώι  
 καταχωρ[ι]σθέντος αὐτοῦ[ν] παρὰ σοὶ τὸ ἀντίγρ[α]φον μεταδοθ(ήναι)  
 τοῖς ἐγκαλο[ι]νμένοις δι' ὑπ[η]ρέτου ἴν' εἰδότες παραγένωνται(αι)  
 ὅπου ἐάν ὁ κ[ύ]ριος ἡγεμ[ών] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βάλβιλλος  
 τὸν ἐνγιστα [διαλογισμὸ]ν ποιῆται πρὸ[ς] τὸ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου  
 30 ἐντεύξεω[ς] τυγχάνειν ἐ[μ]ὲ μὲν τῶν δικα[ί]ων, αὐτοῦς δὲ  
 τῶν ἀρμοζ[ ] (vac.) ἐντύχ(ει)  
 (m. 2)(vac.) .ημ[ι] c. 15 letters ] .στ. .μετα. [. . .] . . . γρ( )  
 ] . . [ c. 17 letters ] τεσσαρες. . [5-10 letters] . .  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἡρατ[ί]ωνοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 35 ] ς. ρ( ) εἰ. [5-10 letters] . . . ατουπρωγ  
 ] . . [5-10 letters] . . . ου. [ ]  
 ] φίλου  
 ] . . . ' . . . η[ ]

4 ἐνκλησε<sup>ω</sup>; 1. ἐγκλήσειω 7 υπαρχοῦ 8 μ<sup>ε</sup> 9 ετε<sup>ω</sup> 11 κριτ<sup>ω</sup> 12 αλεξανδρει<sup>ε</sup>  
 14 1. κυρείαν, ἔχω 15 γενο<sup>ε</sup> 16 1. προεγράφη 18 καθιστήκ(ειν) 20 1. νυνεὶ  
 24 ἐγκαλουμ<sup>ε</sup>; 1. ἐγκαλουμέ(νων) 25 1. ἐγκλήσειω, ἀξιώ 26 μεταδο<sup>ν</sup> 27 παραγενοῦ  
 29 1. ἐγιστα 31 εὐτ<sup>ω</sup> 32 γ<sup>ρ</sup> 35 ] κ. β

'To C. Iulius Asinianus, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, from Mnesitheus son of Theon. After making a complaint and having a summons delivered in the fourteenth year of Divus Claudius against Heration son of Maron and other men, on the grounds that they had wrongfully taken possession of the property of my wife Maronis – Heration of six aruras of vineland near Letopolis in Heracleides' district, and the other men of other property of Maronis – I received from the former prefect L. Lusius Geta as judge concerning all C. Iulius Iollas (?), priest and gymnasiarch of Alexandria, who having heard both myself and the others laid down that the ownership should remain with my wife according to the record of proceedings which I have in my possession.

Since Heration disappeared and did not present himself at the hearing, he was summoned by Geta through a public notice; and since even so he did not appear, I have remained away from home up until now – intentionally, since the time for the judgement had not arrived. But now, having returned and received information of the fact that M. . . son of . . . (?) is laying claim to three aruras from the six aruras of vineland (?), and Heration himself to the other three aruras, I myself, not keeping quiet but adhering much more to the charge against the accused persons, am submitting this memorandum and I ask that it be registered with you and a copy be transmitted to the accused persons through an assistant, so that they may know to present themselves wherever the lord prefect Ti. Claudius Balbillus holds the next *conventus*, that through his intercession I may obtain justice and they may get their deserts. Farewell.'

1 Asinianus is attested as strategus of Heracleides' district of the Arsinoite nome from A.D. 57 to 59; see G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell' Arsinoites*, 14. However, in the absence of information about his near neighbours in office the best available *terminus post quem* for this document is the death of Claudius (see 4), on 13 October A.D. 54, and the best *terminus ante quem* is the first attestation of L. Iulius Vestinus, successor of Balbillus as prefect before 20 June A.D. 60, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273.

4 14 Claudius = A.D. 53/4.

6 Ἡ[ρ]ατίωνο[ς]. Cf. BGU XIII 2336. 6. It may be an alternative spelling of Ἡραδίων.

11 On L. Lusius Geta see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 273.

12 A. C. Iulius Iollas is known as strategus of the Heracleopolite nome in A.D. 45 and he had a previous term as strategus, possibly in the Oxyrhynchite nome, probably in the reign of Gaius or Tiberius, see P. Oxy. Hels. 11 introd.

ἱερέα. It is not clear what priesthood this was, cf. XXVII 2471 5 n.

17 For προγ[ράμματος] see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 499.

20 ἀφ[ι]γμ[ένου]. Cf. XL 2902 10-12, 2912 13-15.

21 ἀμπε[λί]τιδος(?). All that remains is ink in the shape of a St George's cross high up at the end of the line. It has been taken as a raised iota with a horizontal mark of abbreviation, cf. e.g. XLIII 3121 1 app.

28 κ[ύ]ριος. The epithet κ[ύ]ριος is not surely attested as a title of rank for any prefect earlier than Vestinus, who succeeded Balbillus, see A. Stein, *Die Präfekten*, 200 n. 94.

On Balbillus see most lately *ZPE* 31 (1978) 186-7.

31 Perhaps restore simply ἀρμοζ[όντων], though there would be room for about five letters after this or ἀρμοζ[ουσάν]. Similar passages often have a singular noun, e.g. ἐπιστροφή (P. Tebt. III i 741. 5), ἐπίσημος (P. Tebt. III i 797. 29-30), τιμωρία (P. Mich. v 231. 31). (Cf. now P. Osl. inv. 1088. 5-6 (*Symb. Osl.* 56 (1981) 100).

32-8 These lines might contain the subscription of the applicant, cf. M. Chr. 53, or of the assistant who delivered the summons, cf. M. Chr. 50, 51 and 52, and we also might expect a date, cf. M. Chr. 50 and 54. Nothing here can be recognized for certain. In 32 we might suspect the subscription of the assistant, e.g. μεταδέδωκα τὸ ἀντίγρ(αφόν), but the previous word is not the expected ὑπ[η]ρέτης. In 33 the remains suggest an allusion to the previous proceedings in 14 Claudius, cf. 4. In 34 the imperial titles of Nero or Claudius suggest a date, either the date of the application (Nero) or of the previous proceedings (Claudius). In 35 there might be a mention of a strategus, στρατηγ(ος?), and of the ex-prefect Geta, τοῦ προηγεμονεύσαντος?, cf. 11.



183 5, especially 83. 8, where a note is made that according to the episcopsis Herus was the son of Orses, but that 'according to the survey' he was the son of Orsenuphis.

12-13 Perhaps restore something like *καθάρει τὰ ὑπομνήματα*, giving the general outline, 'The survey measurements were reported jointly (by?)... as the records of the review specify'.

13 *διαλογισμοῦ*: not the judicial *comventus*, but the administrative inspection that took place at the same time, cf. W. Chr. 173. 6 n., O. Reinmuth, *Prefect*, 65 and 98-9.

*γεγε[λωμετρημένων]*, 'those areas subject to γεωμετρία', is a possible supplement. Cf. XXXVIII 2847 16-17 n. for this survey of vine and woodland which was made every four years.

14 *καταμετρημένων*. The word is used regularly in Ptolemaic times of lands assigned to cleruchs or of the assignees themselves, cf. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v. This specialized meaning is apparently not attested for Roman times.

14-15 *κα[τα]τομαίς*: measurement by fractions, i.e. by subdividing the area into small rectangular blocks, measuring these, and adding the results, as opposed to measuring the total area as a single block with notionally parallel sides, whatever its true shape, a system which unfairly favoured the treasury at the expense of the cultivator, see A. Déléage in *Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 95-9. The word is not listed in F. Preisigke, *WB* and Suppl., or in S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, nor is this meaning given in LSJ or Suppl. It is, however, found so used in connexion with the cadastre of Byzantine times, see *Ét. Pap.* 2 (1934) 99, n. 1.

17 *κατὰ πορείαν*. Perhaps the distinction intended here is between a survey properly carried out by measuring ἐν κατατομαίς, see 14-15 n., and a measurement by pacing out.

18 *ἐπιγραφῆ[ν]*: in the Roman period generally of the assessment of taxes on land, cf. XII 1445 8 n.

18-19 Line 18 may have continued with a mention of the other production categories of the taxation system, i.e. *βεβρεγμένη* and *ἀβροχος γῆ* in distinction to the *χέρκος* of line 19. On these categories see W. L. Westermann in *CP* 15 (1920) 120-37, 16 (1921) 169-88 and D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil*, graphique v.

19 *χέρκος*. Cf. W. L. Westermann in *CP* 17 (1922) 21-36.

20 *ἐξ αὐτῆς*. Or perhaps read *ἐξ αὐτῆς*, with the words following after *ἀπό* specifying the source of the tax entries.

*παραγράφοντα*: of the entry made by an official on a tax list against a taxpayer's name, noting the amount of tax to be paid, cf. G. Chalon, *L'Édit.* 214 n. 3.

21 *σκεπα[ζ]ο[ν]*. The practice of *σκέπη* has recently been studied by D. Crawford in *JYP* 18 (1974) 169-75, cf. J. D. Thomas in *JEA* 61 (1975) 220 and n. 56.

26-8 Cf. introd. para. 1.

### 3466. PETITION TO AN ARCHIDICASTES

33 4B. 82/G (9)a

16.7 × 24.5 cm.

A.D. 81-96

A petition addressed to the archidicastes Antoninus, who is new, see 1 n., by Theon son of Dionysius in response to the public registration (*δημοσίωσις*, see M. *Gdz.*, 84-7) by his nephew Phantias of a deed of surety which Theon had given him to secure a loan of twenty minas of gold to Phantias' sister Demetria. There is no mention of the serving of a summons upon Theon, but since it was possible to register a note of hand and warn of its execution at the same time (cf. BGU II 578; XII 1474) it may be assumed that the archidicastes had authorized the serving of a notice (*μετάδοσις*) and that this document represents Theon's *ἀντίρρησις*, for which see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 533-7. At this stage then Theon's appeal to the archidicastes is only to the latter's administrative competence as head of the central archives (see P. Koschaker, *ZRG* 29 (1908) 19-20, R. H. Pierce, *Symb. Osl.* 43 (1968) 68 ff.), not to his judicial competence, for which see A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 420-4.

Theon claims that, as a result of a court case involving this loan and a debt of 3,600 silver drachmas which Demetria claimed in her turn from her brother, he had been released from his bond by the ex-*iuridicus* Carus, another new office holder, see 8 n. He also states that Phantias and his sister have since exchanged notes of hand acknowledging the full discharge of both debts. Consequently any claims Phantias may have had against his sister as debtor or Theon as surety have been extinguished.

The date of the text depends upon the reading of part of the name of Domitian in 32, supported by the appearance of the main hand, which is comparable with P. Merton I 13 (A.D. 98-102).

The back is blank except for very faint traces of three lines of writing at the top right-hand side. The hand is similar to but smaller than the hand of the front.

Ἀντωνεῖνω ἱερεί καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρημα-  
τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων

πὰρ Θεῖνος τοῦ Διονυσίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως τοῦ  
Ὁξυρυγγεῖτου. τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις προεικάμην τῷ τοῦ  
ἀδελφοῦ μου *Καραπίωνος* υἱῷ *Φανία* χειρόγραφον ἐγγύτης ὧν  
εἶχεν ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ *Δημητρία* χρυσίου *μναιαίων* εἴκοσι.  
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῷ τε *Φανία* καὶ τῇ *Δημητρία*  
ἐπὶ πάροντί μοι ἐπὶ [.] οὐπίου *Κάρου* τοῦ γενομένου δικαιοδότου  
ἀμφισβητήσεως, τοῦ μὲν *Φανίου* μετερχομένου τὴν *Δη-*  
*μητρίαν* τὰ προκείμενα χρυσίου *μναιαία* εἴκοσι, τῆς δὲ *Δημητρί-*  
*ας* ὡσαύτως μετερχομένης τὸν *Φανίαν* [ἀ]ργυρίου δραχμάς  
*τρ[ι]χειλίας* ἐξ[α]κοσί[α]ς. . . ν[.] ο[κ]α κατείχε[το] παρ' ἑαυτῇ μέχρι τῆς  
*τρ[ύ] δανείου κομ[ι]δῆ[ς]*, ἀπ[ο]σπεφ[η]νόςτος *τρ[ύ] Κά[ρ]ου* ἀκολούθως  
*τρ[ί]ς γενομέ[ν]οις* ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπομνη[μα]τισμοῖς κατέχε-  
θαι ὑπὸ τῆς *Δημητρίας* μέχρι τῆς [τοῦ δανείου] ἀργυρίου δρα-  
χμῶν *τρ[ι]χειλίων* ἐξακοσίων κομίδης τὰ σημαγόμε-  
να χρυσία. ἀπηλλαγμένου δέ μου ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ *Κάρου* ὑπομνη-  
μ[α]τισμῶν τῆς ἐγγύτης ὁ *Φανίας* τιν[ί] π[ο]τε τῶν τρόπων  
ἐνε[χ]θεῖς τ[ε] τὸ μνη[μ]ατισμῶσαι [δ] εἶχεν μ[ο]ν τῆς τῶν  
χρυσίων ἐγγύτης χειρό[γ]ραφον. ἐπεγνωκώς τε τὸν *Φανί-*  
*αν* καὶ τὴν *Δημητρίαν* π[ρ]ο[σ]εῖσθαι ἑαυτοῖς τῷ *Παύνι* μηνί  
τρῶν *διεληλυθό[τ]ο*ς ἔτ[ι] οὖς χειρό[γ]ραφα ὁμολογούντων αὐ-  
τῶν ἀπ[ε]ρχηκέναι, τ[οῦ] μὲν *Φανίου* π[α]ρὰ τῆς *Δημητρίας*  
τὰ τοῦ *χρυσίου* μναία εἴκοσι, τῆς δὲ *Δημητρίας* παρὰ τοῦ *Φα-*

25 ἡ[ίου τὰς τοῦ ἀργυ]ρίου δραχ[μ]ὰς τρι[χειλίας ἑξά]κοσίας κατὰ τὸ  
ἀνα[γκαιὸν κατα]φεί[γω] ἐπ[ὶ] ἐν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἀξιώ[ω] συντάξαι γ[ρά-  
ψαι τῷ [τοῦ] Ὁξυρυνχίτ[ο]υ στρατηγῷ μεταδοῦν[αι] τῶν Φαν[ί]α  
τοῦδε [τοῦ] ὑπομνήμα[τος ἀντίγραφον ὅπ]ως εἰδῆ μηδέ-  
να αὐτῷ [κα]ταλείπ[ε]σθ[ῆ]ναι λόγον περὶ τούτου [μ]ῆτε περὶ τῆς  
30 τῶ[ν] μναϊαίων κ[ο]μιδ[η]σ[ῆ]ς ἢ ὧ εὐεργετη[μέν]ος. [. . .] ὡς  
[. . . . .] ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ] εἰδ[ό]τε[ς].  
(m. 2) [ἔτους Δο]μιτιανοῦ

5 l. ἐγγύης 18 l. ἐγγύης 20 l. ἐγγύης 27 l. Ὁξυρυνχίτου

<sup>1</sup>To Antoninus, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and the other courts from Theon son of Dionysius from the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Oxyrhynchite.

In former times I issued to Phantias, the son of my brother Sarapion, a cheirograph of surety for twenty minas of gold which his sister Demetria held. Afterwards when there was a court case between Phantias and Demetria before the ex-*iuridicus* . . . Carus at which I was present, with Phantias claiming the aforementioned twenty minas of gold from Demetria and Demetria likewise claiming three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver from Phantias, she kept them in her possession . . . until the return of the loan since Carus had declared according to the minutes issued by him that the aforesaid gold should be kept by Demetria until the return of the loan of three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver. And although I was released from the surety according to the minutes from Carus, Phantias, carried in some way quite out of his wits, has had the audacity to publish the cheirograph which he had of me as surety for the gold. Having found out that Phantias and Demetria issued to one another in the month of Payni of the past year cheirographs agreeing that they had received, Phantias from Demetria the twenty minas of gold and Demetria from Phantias the three thousand six hundred drachmas of silver, of necessity I have recourse to you my lord and I ask you to give orders to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite to serve a copy of this notice on Phantias that he may know that he has no further grounds of action in relation to this nor in relation to the return of the minas, that I may be benefited. . . . as son of N. wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

(2nd hand) 'nth year of . . . Domitian . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντωνίνω: not listed as archidicastes by A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952) 406–24 or in the appendix to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones*. The name is not common in the first century: M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 27–8.

<sup>8</sup> [Ἰουπίου Κάρου: not listed by H.-G. Pfau, *Les carrières procuratoriales équestres*, III, 1087–8. Umbrius (A.D. 87) is the only *iuridicus* otherwise known from the reign of Domitian (II 237 vii 39). There is space for only a single narrow letter before the omicron of the nomen; the most likely possibility is Rupius, although Cupius, Lupius and Pupius are also attested, see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*. Otherwise Ὀ(λ)πιος through the omission of the medial liquid, cf. Maysler I. 1<sup>2</sup>, 159–60.

<sup>12</sup> . . . ν[ι].οκα. Nu is rubbed but seems sure; omicron which is incomplete might possibly be read as a sigma; a dot of ink on the tail of the alpha might be the remains of a following iota for which there is certainly space before the kappa, if no sure trace. However, the need for an object for κατέχευο as well as the visible traces seems to rule out διὸ καὶ; μεθ' ὃ καὶ vel sim. The best I can offer is ἐν[τ]οκα, 'bearing interest' (sc. χρυσία ἢ μναϊαία).

<sup>18</sup> τω[ί] π[ο]τε τῶν τρόπων: cf. SB I 5232. 20.

<sup>19</sup> ἐνε[χ]θεῖς: cf. W. Chr. 461. 25, τολημῶς ἐνεχθεῖς.

<sup>26</sup> For supplement cf. III 488 20, VII 1032 36–8, P. Mil. Vogl. IV 229. 20 and 29; προσφεύγω is also a possibility.

30–1. [. . .]ω[ς] [. . . . .]: the name of the scribe writing the petition; a short name in -ω[ς] followed by a patronymic is perhaps more likely than a long name with -ω[ς].

<sup>32</sup> The most likely formula is ἔτους (numeral) Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δο[μ]ιτιανοῦ | <sup>33</sup> [Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 43–4, followed by month and day. Below Δο[μ]ιτιανοῦ there is blank papyrus c. 4 cm. deep by 3 cm. broad.

## 3467. PETITION

34 4 B. 76/K (7–9) b

11.3 × 33.5 cm.

2 September A.D. 98

A petition from Melas son of Hermogenes about the theft of eight sheep. The document is broken across the middle just before the date in line 19, but nothing is lost there. A few lines have been lost from the top of the papyrus. These would have contained the name of the addressee (most probably the strategus, although less important officials like the *ἐπιστάτης φυλακῶν* or a centurion cannot be entirely excluded) and the temporal details of the breaking and entering described in lines 3–5.

The petition is written in a largish, rather unpractised hand comparable to P. Merton I 12, although the beta is U-shaped here. The subscription, written on behalf of Melas by his father, is in a similar but smaller hand. The back is blank.

. . .]. [

την . ρ. . . [

νος λησ[τρικῶ] τρόπῳ διορύ-

ξαντές τιμ[ε]ς τὸ ἐν τῇ δημο-

5 ζία ῥύμη τείχος τῆς ἀψ[λῆ]ς

καὶ εἰσελθόντες ἀπήλασαν μου

πρόβατα ὀκτώ. ἐπέζητούντος

δέ μου ταῦτα, εὐρον ἐν τῷ πρὸς

10 τῶ τῶν ἐρημοφυλάκων μαγδῶ-

λῳ εἰερώ Διοσκοῦρων τὴν τοῦ-

τῶν κόπρον ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ κρυ-

πτῶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἣν ἐπέδειξα τῷ

15 συνελθόντι μοι πρὸς τὴν ἐπι-

ζήτησιν τῆς κώμης ἀρχεφῶδω

15 Ἰλλουτίωνι καὶ τοῖς ἐρημοφύλαξι.

διὸ ἀξιώ, ἐὰν φαίνηται, διαλα-

βεῖν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ὡ[ς] ἂν

15 σοι] δόξῃ ἢ ὧ βεβωρηθημένως.

εὐτύχει. ἔτους δευτέρου

20 Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα  
 Τραϊανού Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 μηνός Σεβαστοῦ ε̅. (m. 2) Μέλας Ἑρμογένους  
 ἐπιδέδωκα. Ἑρμογένης Μέλαρος ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ [μου] μὴ [εἶ]δότης γράμμα-  
 25 τα.

6 εἰσελθόντες corr. from -τας 10 l. ἱερῶ 21 τραϊανου 24 l. υἱού

'...certain men, having in a thievish manner dug through the wall of the yard which gives on to the public street, entered and drove off eight of my sheep. On making a search for them, I found, in the temple of the Dioscuri near the desert-guards' watchtower in a certain concealed place in the temple, their dung, which I showed to Plution the archepodus of the village, who accompanied me in the investigation, and to the desert-guards. Wherefore I ask you, if it seems good to you, to deal with the matter as you see fit, that I may obtain redress. Farewell.'

'The second year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, the fifth of the month Augustus.' (2nd hand) 'I, Melas son of Hermogenes, have presented the petition. I, Hermogenes son of Melas, have written on behalf of my son as he is illiterate.'

2 .ρ. .[: bottom of three uprights and a speck; rho uncertain. This is perhaps part of a phrase detailing when the alleged wall-breaking of lines 3-4 took place, e.g. *νυκτὶ τῇ φεροῦσῃ εἰς τὴν τρά[ι]ν τοῦ ἑνεστώτος μηνός*: cf. P. Ryl. II 127; 129; 130. *πρώτ[η]ν* is excluded.

3 *λησ[τρικῶ] πρόσω*: a common formula for introducing complaints of thefts (cf. P. Ryl. II, Index s.v. *ληστρικός*). Such action was regarded as an aggravating circumstance, like theft at night time: R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 457.

3-4 *διορ[θ]ξαντες*: for supplement cf. P. Mich. VI 421. 6; *διορ[θ]ξαντες* is also a possibility: cf. P. Ryl. II 127. 11; P. Tebt. I 3. 10. Compare Thucydides' account of the Plataean troubles (Thuc. II. 3, 3) and Cnemon's use of *τοιχωρόχος* as a term of abuse in Menander, *Dysk.* 447 and 588.

6 *ἀπ[η]λασαν. ἀπελαίνων* replaced the Ptolemaic *περιελαίνων* as the term for the theft of animals, perhaps under the influence of the Roman legal term *abigeatus*: R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 456.

9-10 *ἐρημοφύλακες*: Ptolemaic in origin, this gendarmerie survived into Roman times: F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 51-2.

10 The temple of the Dioscuri is not listed by G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*. It is unlikely to be identifiable with the temple of the *Δύο Ἀδελφοί* in II 254 3, which was in Oxyrhynchus itself. On the cult of the Dioscuri in Egypt see Gow on Theocritus *Idyll* xxii; W. F. von Bissing, *Aegyptus* 33 (1953) 347-57; on the association of the Dioscuri with Isis, F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, 248-62; R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Greco-Roman World*, pls. 33 and 40.

14 The *ἀρχέποδος* was a liturgical official responsible for the maintenance of law and order at village level: F. Oertel, *Liturgie*, 275-7; P. Jouguet, *Vie Municipale*, 259-69; N. Lewis, *Inventary of Compulsory Services* s.v. This is the earliest appearance of this official in a dated papyrus from the Oxyrhynchite: cf. XXXI 2572-6, introd.

24 υἱοῦ. On the spelling see Mayer I 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 92.

24-25 On illiteracy in the papyri see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 14-41; H. C. Youtie, *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161-76 and *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-61 = *Scriptunculae* II, chs. 29 and 30.

### 3468. PETITION TO A PREFECT

21 3B. 23/F (3)a

13 × 37 cm.

First century

A petition to a prefect from Apollonius, asking him to take action against Harsiesis and his wife Teteuris to prevent them enforcing a bill of distraint against Apollonius

for his share of a house, because he has failed to repay a debt. On the bill of distraint (*ἐνεχυρασία*) see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 531-7, A. B. Schwartz, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 241-82. Lines 20-4 show that Apollonius had already appealed against the bill of distraint, as was his right, and that an injunction had been granted by the strategus against Harsiesis and his wife. In such a case the creditor should have proceeded no further without first making a counter-claim before the appropriate authorities, but Harsiesis and Teteuris, so Apollonius claims, have ignored the strategus' ruling and are continuing to lay claim to the property. Consequently Apollonius is now appealing to the prefect.

These are two suitable known prefects with the names Lucius Julius Vestinus, attested in the period A.D. 60-2 (*ZPE* 17 (1975) 273; add P. Yale inv. 1545, see *BASP* 7 (1970) 88), and Ursus, whose undated term is assigned to A.D. 79-81 or to A.D. 83-4, see most lately *Historia* 27 (1978) 341. No way has been found of telling which, if either, appeared here.

The papyrus has been split down the middle but it is complete except for a small portion of the top right-hand corner. A small strip (2 × 9.3 cm.) found with it seems from the alignment of the fibres to have been attached to the top right-hand edge. This unattached fragment has the first letters of eleven lines in a hand that is definitely identical to that of the petition, suggesting that the petition was followed at one time by another on the same sheet. Whether the sheet in turn formed part of a *τόμος κυγκολλήσιμος* or roll-file of petitions is now impossible to determine. The back is blank.

Λευκίω Ἰουλίω [ c. 10 letters

παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου [ c. 10 letters

τῶν ἀπὸ Ὄξυρύχ[ω]ν πόλεως

τοῦ Ὄξυρυγχείτ[ου] νομοῦ.

5 ἐδανεισάμην τὴν Θέωνι Ἀεῦ-

χιος παρὰ τοῦ τοῦ Θέωνος ἀδελ-

φοῦ Ἀρσιήσιος ἀργυρίου (δραχμὰς) c ὧν

τοὺς κατ' ἔτος τόκου ἐδιορθω-

κάμην τῷ τε Ἀρσιήσι καὶ τῇ τού-

10 του γυν[α]μικὶ Τετεῦρι. ν[ῦ]ν δὲ

ὁ Ἀρσιήσις, ἐποφθαλμάσας

τῷ ὑπάρχοντί μοι μέρει

οἰκίας, ἧς ἔστιν κοινωνός μου,

ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιτελέσαι κα-

15 τ' αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἐνεχυρασίας,

βουλόμ[ε]νος ἐπικρατῆσαι μέ-





There is a kollesis down the extreme left edge of the papyrus, overlapping right over left – i.e. the papyrus was inverted before use.

χαίροις κύριέ μου Ἡρακλείδῃ.  
 [ἐ]ξ ὅτου ἀπέστην τῆς Φενεβύθεως οἱ πρά-  
 κτορες οὐ πρόκοψαν ἐξ ὧν μοι μετέ-  
 5 δσαν ἐν Ψώνει, οὐδένα γὰρ τῶν ὑπό-  
 πτων ἀπήτησαν, προεφασίσαντο δὲ  
 καὶ τοὺς βοηθοὺς μὴ συναπηγηκένοι αὐ-  
 τοῖς. ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Προσωπίτου Δωρᾶς Πι-  
 βήκιος σταν μ' α' Ἐξ [[καὶ πρὸς]] ἐνεβάλετο  
 ἐκ Βομπαῖ ἡμέρον, ἐποίησα δὲ τοὺς  
 10 ὄ[ν]ους τριφορεῖν ἀπὸ Βομβαῖ εἰς Ψώνων.  
 ὁ ἐπισταλεὶς δὲ εἰς Ψώνων'  
 11 Ἄμμώνιος Πανετβεῦτος ο' των (ἀρταβ-) Ἰδ ἐνεβά-  
 λετο ἡμέρον' ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ τοῦ προστάτου  
 τῷ ἐν Θομπήνῃ. ἀναγκαίως δὲ  
 κατέσχον ἓνα τῶν πρακτόρων τῆς  
 15 Φενεβύθεως, ἐπειδὴ γραμματεύ-  
 ει αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῇ Φενεβύθει ὧν εἶ-  
 δω τὸν λόγον τῶν ὑπόπτων καὶ ἀπαι-  
 τῶ.

ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι(αι). Ἐπειφ ε̄.

20 Back: Ἡρακλεῖδῃ . . . ( )

6 Second η of συναπηγηκένοι corrected (from ε or ει) 7 υ of Προσωπίτου corr. 8 ζ; possibly  
 c λ of ἐνεβάλετο corr. 16 l. Φενεβύθεως? 16–17 l. ἴσω

'Greetings, my lord Heracleides.

Since I left (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis, the collectors made no progress beyond the information they gave me in Psonis. They made demands from none of the persons under suspicion, alleging as their excuse that their assistants had not joined them in their demands. The man from the Prosopite, Doras son of Pibekis. . . loaded at Bompae today. I made the donkeys carry thrice from Bompae to Psonis. Ammonius son of Panetbeus – the man sent to Psonis – . . . loaded today at the overseer's farmstead at Thompneis. Of necessity I detained one of the collectors of (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis, since he is their secretary, in order that when I am in (the toparchy of?) Phenebythis I may see the account of the suspected persons and make the demands.

I pray for your health. Epeiph 5.'

(Back): 'To Heracleides. . .'

1 This line was possibly added after the body of the letter was written.

2 Φενεβύθεως. Cf. 14–15. Presence of the article suggests the toparchy is meant rather than the village, despite the consequent false dative in 16. None of the other places mentioned in the text receives the article, and the reference to Psonis in 4 is more comprehensible if it is the toparchy which is mentioned in 2. For the toparchy of Phenebythis see T. C. Skeat, P. Beatty Panop. p. xxxvii. The present text surely confirms the location of Psonis (see 4 n.) within that toparchy.

2–3 πράκτορες. See P. Mich. x 582 introd. and N. Lewis, *ICS* s. v. *πρακτορεία, πράκτωρ*. Their office here is not more closely specified. The toparchy as their area of competence would well suit the data of the present text.

4 Ψώνει. See 2 n. and P. Beatty Panop. p. xxxvii there cited, and also Z. Borkowski, *JJP* 18 (1974) 223–4.

7 Προσωπίτου. If the reference is to a ship's captain, cf. XXIV 2415 for the citation of similarly distant origins: Προσωπίτου occurs there in 42 and 67.

8 σταν. Articulate ὁ τῶν? Cf. 11 n. μ<sup>a</sup> stands for *μυράδος μᾶς*? Cf. P. Lond. III 900. 20 (p. 89). Is the intended meaning 'captain of a boat of 10,000 artabas'? For boats of this capacity see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971), 164 n. 40. On this interpretation the 'Ἐξ (or possibly 'Ἐς) would be accusative (sc. ἀρτάβας; 5,006 or 5,200, again with no artaba-sign) and indicate the quantity loaded on board.

9 Βομπαῖ. Cf. Βομβαῖ in 10. See A. Calderini, *Dis. Geogr.* II, p. 54.

10 The meaning of τριφορεῖν is not clear, but obvious alternatives are 'to make three journeys' and 'to carry a triple load'. The usage of διφορεῖν (P. Cair. Zen. 59147. 8 and 59782a. 71) seems not quite parallel.

11 Apparently των (ἀρταβ-) Ἰδ ἐνεβάλετο was written first, leaving a gap of half a line before it into which Ἄμμώνιος Πανετβεῦτος ο was subsequently inserted, and then ὁ ἐπισταλεὶς δὲ εἰς Ψώνων was squeezed in above the Ἄμμώνιος- insertion. Another possibility is that Ἄμμώνιος Πανετβεῦτος ο (γράφ) ἰδ ἐνεβάλετο was first written, then των (ἀρταβ-) Ἰδ inserted in the gap and then the interlinear addition as above.

τῶν? Layout of the papyrus makes it clear that these letters are not to be linked with the omicron which precedes. If the artabas + numerals following are linked with τῶν, ἐνεβάλετο is left without an object; while τῶν on its own is inexplicable. We therefore suppose there to have been an omission, and that we have lost something comparable with the μ<sup>a</sup> in the earlier instance in 8; cf. 8 n.

13 Θομπήνῃ. This locality seems not to have been recorded before.

19 Beginning of Ἐπειφ obscured by a correction (from π, i.e. Παύνη?).

20 The remains of the address are exceedingly scanty. Presumably Heracleides' name was followed by his title. I have tried to read this as *ετρητηγῶ* (cf. the introd. above), but without any confidence.

#### 3470–3471. SWORN DECLARATIONS BY PRIESTS

50 4B. 30/H (1–2)b

13.5 × 30.5 cm.

22 December A.D. 131

Two documents pasted together in a tomos synkollesimos with traces of the items that came before and after in the roll. One document is almost complete, the other is broken in the middle and the lower half is on a loose fragment. The back is blank. The writing of the body is the same in each item. So probably is the hand of the annotation at the head of each. The subscriptions are in different hands.

Except for the temples concerned and the names of the priests the two documents were virtually identical, and therefore supplements may be made from one to the other.

Of positive information there is a slightly later date than hitherto known for the office of the strategus Asclepiades and the royal scribe Hierax, further evidence for Heracles with the cult title of θεὸς μέγιστος and an unparalleled mention of a Greek



μόκ]αμψ τὸν ὄρκον.  
 . . . ]ις Ἀλεξάνδρον  
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ  
 55 εἰδότην γράμματα.

1 ιε5 3 στβ 4 β'γρ' 13 ιελ 14 αντιγβ; ο in οί corr. from ε? 16 ιεροθνή<sup>ω</sup>  
 17 ιδλ 18 ιελ 20 l. εἰσκριτικόν 29 το<sup>3</sup> 36 ομεγν<sup>3</sup> 38 l. Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστῶν  
 39 υποκει<sup>6</sup> 44 επικρεινε<sup>6</sup>; l. ἐπικρίνεσθαι 45-6 l. ἐνοχοι εἶημεν

(3rd hand) '... 15th year.'

(1st hand) 'To Asclepiades strategus and Hierax royal scribe from Heracles son of Menches, mother Tatas, and Ptolis son of Amois, mother Thaeis, both from the village of Talao, priests of Heracles most great god.'

In response to the report of the idios logos from the records of the 15th year that was notified for investigation, of which the following is a copy -

The undermentioned minors, sons of priests and persons of priestly stock, who came forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds in the fifteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, paid their entrance fee after the appointed date. Consequently, in order that it may be investigated whether there is income from the state or from outside (the temple) attached to their offices, and which are persons who, customarily undergoing scrutiny by the arch-prophet, have actually received the certificate from him, notification is made. Lower toparchy, Talao. Priests of Heracles most great god. Panemgeus son of Heracles grandson of Menches, mother Thathonas daughter of Panemgeus; Amois son of Ptolis grandson of Amois, mother Τα... daughter of...allas.

- we report, swearing by the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, that no income is attached to the offices of our above-mentioned sons either from the state or from outside (the temple), and that it is not customary for such persons to undergo scrutiny by the arch-prophet, or let us incur the consequences of the oath.

Year 16 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, month of Hadrianus 25.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Heracles son of Menches and Ptolis son of Amois have submitted this document and sworn the oath. . . . is son of Alexander wrote for them as they are illiterate.'

1 From 3471 1 we can guess that the annotation was something like 'Talao: priests of Heracles; 15th year'.

2 The two oblique strokes seem here to be on the level of line 2, while in 3471 they are a little higher, between lines 1 and 2. Probably they belong with the year number in each case, though it would be more normal to find them on the same level.

3 For Asclepiades and Hierax see ZPE 29 (1978) 173, nos. 44-5.

6 Tatas is hitherto recorded only as a man's name, but I have consulted Professor J. R. Harris and have kindly been allowed to quote the answer.

'The fact that Τατάς occurs elsewhere as a masculine name is no obstacle to its being feminine here. Whatever the etymology of the Egyptian original, the form was presumably one without any specifically masculine/feminine elements: τα- cannot in this case be β' in that the name is attested as male. Many Egyptian names are indeed applicable to both men and women, and Τατάς would then be a Greek transcription of such a type.'

9-11 Priests of Heracles θεός μέγιστος are new for this village, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymum*, iv 762. Cf. BIFAO 74 (1974) 23-7 for Heracles in the Small Oasis, which is associated with Oxyrhynchus.

16 ιεροθνής is addendum *lexicis*. The declarers were priests. Therefore if the word is used here without tautology, it must apply to the mothers of their sons. There is perhaps an implication that it was sufficient if the mothers were of priestly parents without their actually holding office as priestesses.

20 The payment of the eiskritikon must be the reason why the idios logos is concerned with the matter, as the department did not generally supervise ecclesiastical affairs, see P. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 76. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 249, thinks it probable that the first payment of eiskritikon was due after circumcision, which may still be true. The evidence provided by the present papyrus suggests that a

second payment was due before epicrisis, unless the two payments are one and the same. It is possible that a third payment was due on entering hereditary priestly offices, as indicated by P. Vindinkel I. 13, *πότερον πραταὶ αἱ τάξεις εἰς ἐπὶ εἰσκριτικῶ παραδοθῆναι ὀφείλουσι*.

21 The text here is supplemented on the basis of P. Iand. 139. 22-3 and of 3471 18, see note, but I see no reason to suppose that the scribe committed the same error here as in 3471.

22 ὑπόκειται. Cf. 38 and 3471 18-19. For the meaning see LSJ s.v. ὑπόκειμαι 7(b).

23-4 ἐκ δημοσίου ἢ ἔξωθεν. Money from the state always seems to have been paid to the priests through the temple treasury, see W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, II 24, so that the question here must be whether the priests' sons were given any of the money from the state. I do not know in what way this was relevant to the idios logos. I take ἢ ἔξωθεν to mean 'or from outside the temple'. As full priests were not allowed to enter into business as individuals, and as all their income seems to have been paid, directly or indirectly, through the temple treasury (see Otto, op. cit. II 23-42 on the three categories of priests' income), this second part of the question may have been relevant to the boys' qualifications for a full priesthood.

Our knowledge of the arch-prophet is unsatisfactory; see the latest summary and discussion of the evidence, including reference to this document, in *Actes XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 19) 124-31. It is tentatively concluded there (128-9) that this holder was the ἀρχιπροφήτης καὶ ὄρασις of Memphis, on whom see especially CE 49 (1974) 143-4.

27 In SB VIII 9658, which has now been republished by P. J. Parsons in CE 49 (1974) 139 seqq., a *χρηματικὸς ἐπὶ φαναγίδων* issued by the arch-prophet of Memphis occurs. The conclusion can hardly be avoided that this *χρηματικὸς* served the same purpose, which would be to certify that the candidate had passed the priestly epicrisis, see CE 49 (1974) 144. In SB 9658 (A.D. 193) it is said to be obligatory for any applicant for a priestly office to produce this certificate. In the present document epicrisis by the arch-prophet is said not to be customary for these persons. Probably some sort of certificate was also required in these cases but was issued by a different authority.

30 A paragraph marks the beginning of the list.

42 τε... ἦ. For this unusual combination see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>5</sup>, 514 (iv), E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 3 pp. 166-7.

53-5 For the phenomenon of illiterate priests, i.e. priests who could not write Greek, see ZPE 19 (1975) 101-8, esp. 108.

## 3471

(m. 3) Ταλ(αὼ) ιερέ(ων) [Δι]ῶ(ς) καὶ Ἡρα(ς) ιε (ἔτους) //.  
 (vac.) . . . (vac.)

(m. 1) Ἀκκλητιάδῃ στρ(ατηγῶ) καὶ Ἰέρακ(ι) βα(ακλικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)  
 παρὰ Αν[. . .] Ἀ]ρμύσιος τοῦ

5 Α[. . .] . . . ] μητρὸς Ταύριος καὶ . . .

. . . . . τοῦ Ἀνθροστίου καὶ

4μογάτος Ὄρου τοῦ Ὄρου αν. . . ( )

τῶ[ν] ἡ ἀπὸ κόμης Ταλαῶ ιερέ(ων)

Διός καὶ Ἡρας Ἑλληνικοῦ ἱεροῦ.

10 πρὸς [τ]ὸ μεταδοθῆν εἰς ἐξέτασιν

εἰδο[ς] ἰδίου λόγ(ου) ἀπὸ λόγων ιε (ἔτους)

οὐ ἔστιν ἀντίγρ(αφον):— οἱ ὑπογεγραμ-

μένοι ἀφήλικες υἱοὶ ἰ[ε]ρέων

καὶ ἱερο[εθ]νῶν προσβάντες  
 15 εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) τῷ ιε (ἔτει) Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Καίσαρος τ[ο]ῦ κυρ[ί]ου παρὰ π[ρο]-  
 θεσμίαν τὸ ἱερικτικὸν διέγ[ρα]-  
 ψαν. ἴ(ν) ὄν ἐξετασθῆ εἰ ὑπόκει[ταί]  
 20 τὰ ταῖς τάξεσι ἐκ δημοσί[ο]υ  
 ἢ ἔξωθεν καὶ τίνες εἰς  
 οἷ, σνήθως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιπρο-  
 φήτου ἐπ[ικρ]ινόμενοι, κ[αὶ]  
 τὸν χρηματισμὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἔλαβον, με[τα]δίδοται.— κάτω  
 25 [το(παρχίας)] Τ[α]λῶ, ἱερεῖς Διῶ[ς] καὶ  
 Ἡρας Ἑλληνικῶν ἱεροῦ:— ...  
 μω...[...]. . . . . τοῦ Αρ[...]. . . . .  
 30 ριο[. μη]τρὸς Θαήσιο[ς] Ἀπολ-  
 λωνίου, Ἀρμύσιος Αν[...]. . . . .  
 .]. . . . .[...]. ου Διογᾶ.[  
 . . . . .]. . . . .[...]. . . . .  
 . . . . .]. . . . .[...]. . . . .  
 . . . . .]. . . . .[...]. . . . .  
 35 ὀμνύν[τες] Ἀντοκράτ[ο]ρ[α]  
 Καίσαρ[α] Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ μ[η]δὲν ὑποκείθ[αι]  
 ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν προ[ο]υγραμ-  
 μένων ἢ μὴν υἰῶν  
 40 ἐκ τε δημο[σί]ου ἢ ἔξωθεν  
 μ[η]δὲ εἰς[...]. ἢ ἔξωθεν  
 τ[ο]ῦ ἀρχιπροφήτου ἢ ἐνοχοῦ  
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκ[ω]. (vac.)  
 45 (ἔτους) ἰς Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Τραϊαν[ο]ῦ Ἀδρι[αν]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ,

μη]νός Ἀδρι[αν]οῦ κ[ε].  
 (m. 2) Αν... Ἀρ]μύσιος καὶ ...  
 ...]. . . ριος καὶ Διογᾶς  
 50 Ὡρ[ο]ν ἐπιδεδώκαμεν καὶ ὁμο-  
 μέκαμεν τὸν ὄρκ(ον). ...[...].  
 ... ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μ[η] εἰ-  
 δότων γράμματα.

1 τὰ ἱερ[...], ἢ ἰε[...]. 3 στρ, ἱερά β γρ 8 ἱερέ 11 λο', ιελ 12 αντιγρ 15 ιδλ, ιελ  
 17 l. εἰκρικτικόν 36-7 l. Τραϊανῶν Ἀδριανῶν Σεβαστῶν 37 υποκειθ 43-4 l. ἐνοχοὶ εἶημεν  
 50-1 l. ὁμωμόκαμεν 51 ορκ

(3rd hand) 'Talao: priests of Zeus and Hera; 15th year. ...'

(1st hand) 'To Asclepiades strategus and Hierax royal scribe from An... son of Harmiysis grandson of A... , mother Tayris, and ... son of ... sis(?) grandson of Anthesius, and Diogas son of Horus grandson of Horus ... , the three of them from the village of Talao, priests of the Greek temple of Zeus and Hera.

In response to the report of the *idios logos* from the records of the 15th year that was notified for investigation, of which the following is a copy—

The undermentioned minors, sons of priests and persons of priestly stock, who came forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds in the fifteenth year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord, paid their entrance fee after the appointed date. Consequently, in order that it may be investigated whether there is income from the state or from outside (the temple) attached to their offices, and which are persons who, customarily undergoing scrutiny by the arch-prophet, have actually received the certificate from him, notification is made. Lower toparchy, Talao. Priests of the Greek temple of Zeus and Hera: ... son of ... grandson of ... sis (*or* -sius), mother Thaesis daughter of Apollonius, Harmiysis(?) son of An... grandson of Harmiysis, mother ... daughter of ... (?) ...

— we report, swearing by the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, that no income is attached to the offices of our above-mentioned sons either from the state or from outside (the temple), and that it is not customary for such persons to undergo scrutiny by the arch-prophet, or let us incur the consequences of the oath.

Year 16 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, month of Hadrianus 25.'

(2nd hand) 'We, An... son of Harmiysis and ... son of ... sis(?) and Diogas son of Horus have submitted this document and sworn the oath. ... son of ... wrote for them as they are illiterate.'

1 The reading of this very cursive line owes a great deal to Dr R. A. Coles who, without prior knowledge of the content of the document, made out τὰ, ἱερ' and ἢβ on purely palaeographic grounds. The case of ἱερέ(ων) is doubtful, but the superscript epsilon should probably discourage us from breaking the diphthong to expand to ἱερε(ῖς). The trace of [Δι]έ(ς) is minute, but probably raised.

2 Possibly there was an item number here, e.g. πη = 88, but this is very far from certain.

6 The very faint traces might represent ... ριος, cf. 26-8 n.

7 The end of the line is virtually undamaged. The letters look like *ων* followed by the raised and rounded mark of abbreviation which usually represents a vestigial pi. Even *δι(ν)ο(π-)* does not suggest any Greek word which is obviously relevant.

9 That Greek temples were also controlled by the *idios logos* we know already from section 86 of the *Gnomon* (BGU v). It is interesting, though hardly surprising, to see that even Zeus and Hera without the specification were thought likely to be understood as their Egyptian counterparts, presumably Ammon and Mut. It is also worth noticing that the few names preserved in this item do not suggest that the priests serving Greek gods were much more Greek than those serving Egyptian ones.

18 It is disquieting to have to suppose the loss of nu. Maysier I. 1<sup>2</sup> pp. 170-1 does give examples of the loss of final nu before a vowel, but for these examples to apply fully we would have to suppose that

the scribe took  $\bar{\iota}$  to be the basic form, which cannot have been the case. The alternative  $\iota = \epsilon\iota$  is much easier in itself, but would mean that *μεταδίδονται* must be taken as the phonetic equivalent *μεταδίδοτε*. The passage would have to be translated, 'Let me know whether it is investigated if there is any income attached', etc. I hold this to be impossible as *μεταδοθέν εἰς ἐξέτασι* (10) clearly recalls  $\bar{\iota}$  *ἐξεραχθῆ*... *μεταδίδονται* of the original document and not  $\epsilon\iota$  *ἐξεραχθῆ*... *μεταδίδοτε*. The fact that the two documents are identical in formula wherever they are both preserved allows us to reconstruct this passage from both of them, and I do not think one could argue that 3470 had  $\bar{\iota}$  *ἐξεραχθῆ*... *μεταδίδονται* while 3471 had  $\iota (= \epsilon\iota)$  *ἐξεραχθῆ* (= *ἐξεραχθῆ*)... *μεταδίδοτε*. Further, the corresponding passage in P. Iand. 139. 22-3 should be remembered:  $\bar{\iota}\nu\alpha$  δὲ... *ἐξεραχθῆ*,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta[\acute{\omicron}\eta]$ ...

24-6 The traces are minuscule and doubtfully assigned to individual letters, especially in 25, but the wording can be deduced from 3470 29-30 and 3471 1, 8-9. Here there is space for the village name on the line.

26-8 It is tempting to restore  $\bar{\alpha}\rho[\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\iota]$  in 26-7 and  $\bar{\alpha}\rho[\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\iota]$  in 27-8 =  $\bar{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\iota\sigma$  in 49. The second would be the grandfather of the minor named here and the father of the declarer in 5-6 and 48-9. His name should also occur, therefore, in 6. The traces there are too scanty to confirm it, but would be consistent.

43-4 A horizontal at the end of the line suits the cap of sigma, i.e. singular instead of plural as in 3470 45-6.

### 3472. LETTER CONCERNING THE IDIOS LOGOS

45 5B. 55/B (1-3)a

16.7 × 18.5 cm.

28 August A.D. 149

A letter addressed by the strategus and royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite to Ammonius alias Pets... and colleagues of the sanctuary of Athena in the Thoreum Quarter in Oxyrhynchus. They quote a ruling by the idiologus Claudius Iustus requiring all who have plots of ground within temple precincts to produce evidence to support their right of ownership and ask for the appropriate return to be made.

The involvement of the idiologus can be related to the strong interest taken by the department of the Idios Logos in the second century in temple matters of every sort: see P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos*, 83-9, 122-6. In this case Ammonius and his colleagues are addressed as a known group but it does not follow that they themselves were priests or representatives of the temple's priesthood. Full details of members of the priesthood would have been available to the authorities through their annual *γραφαι ἱερέων*: see E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 191-8. They may well have been pastophori, who are known to have had living quarters within the compounds of their temples (J. A. S. Evans, *YCS* 17 (1961) 192-5), or alternatively they may have been persons who had established squatting rights within the sanctuary to avail themselves of privileges to which they were not entitled. BGU IV 1199 (4 B.C.), a prefectural order for the registration of all persons attached to temples, shows that this was not a new problem. None the less it is tempting to connect the present text with the increasing economic pressure brought to bear upon the temples in Egypt in the second century: see Gilliam, *op. cit.* 186-7; Evans, *op. cit.* 263-5.

The papyrus has been quoted and discussed in advance of publication in *CE* 53 (1978) 321-8, *CE* 54 (1979) 143-8, and *Journal of Religious History* 11 (1980) 218-26.

The back is blank.

Αἰλι[ος Ἀφρο]δείσιος στρατηγὸς καὶ Σεργῆος ὁ καὶ  
 Καρ[απίου] βασιλ(ικὸς) γραμματεὺς Ὁξυρυγχ(είτου) Ἀμμωνίῳ  
 τῷ καὶ Πε-

τε. [... Ἀμ]μωνίου τοῦ Πεκυσίου καὶ μετόχοις χαίρειν.  
 Κλαύ[διος] Ἰούστρος ὁ κρατίτιος πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐποι-

5 ἤσατο τοῦ νομοῦ διαλογισμῷ τῷ διεληλυθότι ἰα (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τῷ κ[υ]ρίῳ ἀχθέντος εἵδους περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς περιβόλων  
 ἱερῶν[υ] κ[ε]κ[τ]ημένων οἰκόπεδα διαλαβὼν ἐπὶ πάσι ἀπέ-  
 φαγ[εν] οὕτω[ς]: "Οσοὶ συνήψαν τ'οῖς ἐπὶ Τοῦσκῳ τὴν συντεί-  
 10 μης[ιν] ἐπιδ[ι]δωκόσι δύνανται δεόντως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι  
 τῶν τῶπων. ὅσοι δὲ παραγγελέντες οὐ παρέθεντο, ἐὰν καὶ  
 νῦν [ἐν]τὸς μηνῶν δύο μὴ ἐπενέγκωσι, ἐνεχέσθωσαν τοῖς  
 ὠρ[ι]σμένοις. τῶντων οὖν μεταδοθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου  
 ἡμῶν ὡς κ[α]θ[ῆ]κε[ι] καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως γραμματέως Ἡρακλείδου  
 ὑπογύως

μ[. . .] φητες τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν νυνὶ ἐπικρατούντων  
 15 οἰκ[ο]π[ε]δῶν ἐντὸς περιβόλων ἱερῶν τῆς μητροπόλεως,  
 κατ[ὰ] τὸ [ἀ]ναγκάσιον ἐνγράφως ὑμῖν ἐπιτέλλεται ἵν' ἐν  
 τῇ δ[ο]θεί[σῃ] προθεσίᾳ παραθῆσθε τὰ ἐζητημένα ἔνε-  
 κα ὧν [ἐδ]η[λό]θητε ἐπικρατεῖν οἰκοπέδων ἐντὸς περι-  
 βόλου [τῆς Ἀθ]ηνῶν ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Θεορξίῳ Θενεπιμῷ.

20 (m. 2) ] (vac.) . . . . . ( ) (m. 3) Καραπάμ(μων) γραμματεὺς  
 ἐπή(νεγκα).

(m. 1?) [ἔτους ἰβ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ  
 Ἀντωνίνου

[Σεβαστοῦ Ε]ὐ[ε]β[ρ]ῶς Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομ(ένων) ε-.

2 βασιλ γρσ οξυρυγχ<sup>x</sup> 7-8 l. ἀπέφηνεν 8-9 l. συντίμησεν 10 l. παραγγελέντες 13 γρσ  
 20 γρσ 22 επαγομ<sup>h</sup>

'Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus, and Serenus alias Sarapion, royal scribe, of the Oxyrhynchite to Ammonius alias Pets... son of Ammonius grandson of Pecysius and colleagues, greetings.

In the inspection of the nome which he made in the past eleventh year of Antoninus Caesar our lord, Claudius Iustus the most excellent idiologus, a report being made concerning those who own sites within sacred precincts, declared as follows in giving a decision on all cases: "All those who are connected (?) with the persons who submitted the valuation under Tuscus can legally lay claim to their plots. But all those who did not make a declaration when instructed, if they do not now submit their evidence within two months, are to be liable to the prescribed penalties." Therefore since this information has been communicated by one of us in the proper way and since Heracleides, the secretary of the city, is currently about to be engaged upon (?) the list of names of those who now possess sites within sacred precincts

in the metropolis, a written order is of necessity being sent to you in order that in the given time appointed you may produce the information required concerning the sites which you have been declared to possess within the precinct of Athena in the quarter of the Thoeureum of Thenepmoi.  
(2nd hand) 'I . . . . . ( )'. (3rd hand) 'I Sarapam(mon), scribe, have delivered this.'  
(1st hand) '[12th year] of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus [Augustus] Pius, fifth epagomenal day of Mesore.'

1-2 Aelius Aphrodisius is known as strategus from A.D. 147/8 to 3-5 March 154: XLI 2961 10 n.; Serenus alias Sarapion is attested as royal scribe from 148/9 (XLI 2956) to the same date (XLI 2967), but their terms of office are likely to have been co-extensive, for Dioscorus who preceded Aphrodisius as strategus had Ischyron as royal scribe (I 171 descr. = II, p. 208).

2-3 Περκ.: a minute trace after c; Περκε[ίρει] vel sim. Otherwise unknown, as far as I can determine.

4-6 Claudius Iustus is already known as idiologus from P. Tebt. II 294 = W. Chr. 78 (5 January 147). He is probably also to be identified with the Iustus of PSI XIV 1439 and P. Lond. II 359 (p. 150) 5: infra, 8 n. This direct statement that the idiologus conducted a *διαλογισμός* of the Oxyrhynchite nome in A.D. 147/8 should be added to the other evidence for a special connexion of his department with this process, see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo*, 180-7; *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 145-50.

7-8 ἀπέδωκε[ν]. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §304, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik*, §72.

8 ἐπὶ Τοῖσκω: also to be read in P. Lond. II 359 (p. 150) 2 and SB VI 9066 II 11 and 14. Dr J. Rea has suggested to me that Tuscus may be identifiable with C. Caecina Tuscus, iuridicus in A.D. 51/2 and prefect from 62/3 to late 65 or early 66 (G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 274; id. 38 (1980) 77). FIRA III 171 a and b show that, as prefect, Tuscus was concerned with curtailing certain privileges enjoyed by the veterans settled in Egypt. He may therefore have looked equally closely at any persons who had tried to claim priestly privileges or immunities to which they were not entitled. This subject has been discussed more fully in CE 53 (1978) 321-8, where this papyrus was quoted in advance of publication.

For ἐπὶ + dat. of an official where a gen. might be expected cf. Preisigke, WB, IV 4 s.v. B (2) and (3), LSJ Suppl. s.v. (8).

9 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι: in a general sense 'lay claim to' or perhaps 'acquire by succession', see R. Taubenschlag, *Lab<sup>2</sup>*, 216 n. 13.

10 τρήων: letters are broken but secure.

ἄροι δὲ παραγγελέντες οὐ παρέθεντο: cf. VII 1032 18-19 and nn.

11 ἐν]τός μηνῶν δύο: read by Dr Rea. For a period of two months' grace in which to produce evidence or register a claim cf. P. Amh. II 68. 71-2; VII 1032 22-3.

13 Ἡρακλείδου: probably not identifiable with the city secretary of this name in P. Wisc. II 85, dated to the latter part of the second or early third century A.D.

14 μ[. . .]νητος. One possibility is μ[ε]τινήτος. If that is correct, the single dot after the second bracket represents the tip of the crossbar of tau as well as the iota to which it is ligatured. No good parallel from the papyri has been found, but see LSJ s.v. μετέρχομαι (3).

18 [ἐδ]η]λόγητε: better than [ἐμ]λόγητε. Not [ἐμ]νήθητε.

19 ἐπ' ἀμφόβου Θοηρείου Θενεπμοῦ. Cf. VII 1028 31-2 where the ambiguous letters read originally as Θενεπμοῦ should now be read as Θενεπμοῦ. The name suggests a cult title of Thoeiris, e.g. τ(-)n(-)p(-)mw (Copt. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩩), 'she of the water'. Alternatively the final element of the name may represent Copt. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩩 'the island' or Tmy, identified by A. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, II 113\* (388 G), as a place where there was a temple of Thoeiris; I owe these suggestions to Mr R. G. Cowlin. For the equation of Athena with Thoeiris at this period see M. Vandoni, *Acme* 7 (1954) 307-12; P. Merton II 73 introd.; XLI 2976 introd.

20 ] (vac.) . . . . . ( ). There is room for writing to the left but no trace of ink. The colour of the ink and slope of the hand indicate a different hand from what follows. As the document is an original, not a copy, one might expect a salutation in the hand of the strategus or royal scribe by way of validation, but I am unable to read any of the customary formulae.

For a γραμματεὺς attached to a strategus cf. XIV 1663 13; P. Wisc. II 73. 24.

21 A.D. 147/8 is referred to as 'the past 11th year' in 5-6, which permits the restoration of the regnal year number here.

## 3473. DECLARATION OF TEMPLE PROPERTY, ETC.

45 B. 54/G (5-8)a

7.5 × 22.5 cm.

A.D. 161-9

The central portion of this document is well preserved, but the first two lines have been almost completely effaced and the foot, like two detached fragments clearly from that area, is discoloured and abraded. Virtually nothing can be read in the damaged parts. On the back there is an account published as 3492.

The document bears a resemblance to the lists of priests, income, furniture, etc., that were submitted annually by all temples and I therefore give a table of the ones known to me.

150 or 139 B.C.	P. Grenf. I 14	List of objects deposited in a temple
1st cent. A.D.	BGU III 781	List of objects
107/8	P. Tebt. II 298	γραφὴ ἱερέων
116	P. Bacchias 1	γραφὴ ἱερέων καὶ χειρισμῶ
138 or later	SPP XXII 183	List of income and expenditure
138-61	P. Lugd. Bat. XVII 1	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
161-9	3473	γρ. ἀναθημάτων καὶ προσόδων
171	P. Bacchias 2	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
171	P. Lund III 6	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
172	P. Lund III 5	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
177-81	BGU II 387	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
188	P. Lund IV 2	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
170 or later	BGU I 162 + II 590 = W. Chr. 91	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
185/6	BGU IV 1023	γρ. θεαγῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀποκειμένων
184-92	P. Lund III 4	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
193	P. Lond. II 345 = W. Chr. 102	γρ. παστοφόρων καὶ χειρισμῶ
c. 195	P. Erl. 21	Temple inventory
197	P. Bour. 41a	List of priests, etc.
II	BGU II 488	γρ. ἱερ. καὶ χειρ.
II	III 521	List of objects
II	P. Bacchias 7	List of furniture
late II	P. Lund II 3	List of priests
213-17	XII 1449	γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων
259	P. Ryl. II 110	γραφὴ χειρισμῶν

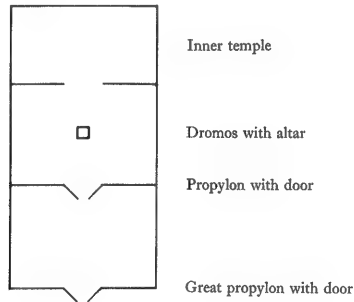
II-III	BGU I 338 + I	List of temple lamps and expenditure
III	PSI VIII 950	Temple inventory

On these lists and on temple administration in general see W. Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, esp. II 150; W. Gdz., 128; T. Grassi, *Le liste templari*, in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica*, IV, 4 (Milan, 1926); *Aegyptus* 12 (1932) 317-28; P. Bacchias, introd.; P. Lund IV 2-5; *YCS* 17 (1961) 143-283.

No other list, however, is styled *γραφὴ ἀναθημάτων καὶ προσόδων* like the present one and none seems to be submitted by a single man, who is in all likelihood not even a priest but a pastophorus (cf. 23, 27, 30 and 32). Some illumination may be had from XII 1435, which is a taxation return made by tax-collectors to the strategus concerning two pastophori who are attached to different temples. The two pastophori may have made individual declarations that resembled the present document. But if the present document is a declaration of the income and expenditure of a single pastophorus it remains mysterious why he also includes an inventory of the furniture of the temple.

The order in which the objects are listed is instructive, as it may allow us to construct a plan of the temple of Apollo at Pela, though not a very detailed one. It is clearly suggested that the inventory begins in the inner part of the temple where cult statues were kept in their shrines, together with figurines of hawks, lamps, automenias, trumpets and two altars. Just outside the inner sanctum was another altar in the dromos. The dromos was closed by a propylon and outside this may have been a court where various burners were kept. This in turn was closed by the great propylon.

A rough plan of the temple may be drawn thus:



Inner temple

Dromos with altar

Propylon with door

Great propylon with door

I have tried a very rough identification of the objects mentioned with actual objects found in Egypt (cf. notes), but it is clear that a great deal more is to be done in this line. As this part of the work would be better done by a specialist in Egyptian archaeology, it has been set aside for a joint article with Professor J. R. Harris, who has kindly taken an interest in the text and promised his help.

A useful collection of sources concerning pastophori has appeared since I finished this account: Hans-Bernhard Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 80, Diss. Köln, 1976).

(25-30 letters)

(25-30 letters)

Ἀπόλλωνος .[. .] κλειτου καὶ τῶν ζυγ-  
νάων θεῶν με .( ) ἱεροῦ λογίμου τοῦ  
5 ὄντος ἐν τῇ α(ὐτῇ) Πέλα. γραφὴ ἀναθη-  
μάτων καὶ προσόδ(ων) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ώτος) .[ (ἐτους)  
τῶν κυρίων Α[ὐτ]οκρατόρων Μάρκου  
Ἀύρηλιου Ἀν[των]ίνου καὶ Λουκίου  
Ἀύρηλιου Οὐήρου, ὧν ἔστιν τὸ καθ' ἑν: —  
10 ἀνδριάντες Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερακομό(ρφου)  
χαλ(κοῦ) γ̄ ἐν θήκαις ξυλ(ίνας) γ̄, ἱέρακες χαλ(κοῦ) γ̄,  
ὧν β̄ διακολ(ληθέντες?) χυτῶ λίθω, λυχναίαι  
χαλ(καῖ) μεικ(ραῖ) γ̄, αυτομενίαι ξυλ(ω-) περικεχ(ρυσωμεν-) ᾱ,  
κάλ(πιγγες) χαλ(καῖ) ἱερατικ(αῖ) β̄, βωμὸς λίθ(ινος) ᾱ,  
15 βωμὸς ἔτ(ερος) χαλ(κοῦς) ἀρτ( ) ᾱ, βωμὸς ἐν  
τῷ δρόμω χαλ(κοῦς) ᾱ. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ προπυλ(αίου)  
τοῦ ἱεροῦ θύρα περικεχαλ(κιμένη) τὸ ἔμπρο-  
σθεν ᾱ, ἣ ἐνεκεο .( ) προτομ(αῖ) χαλ(καῖ) β̄  
Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, θυμια-  
20 τήρια χαλ(κᾶ) καλ(πιγγωτᾶ) δ, Βησᾶς χαλ(κοῦς) ᾱ, πυρην  
σιδη(ρ-) ᾱ, λαβίς ὁμοί(ως) ᾱ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλ(ω)  
προπυλ(αίω) θύρα περικεχαλ(κιμένη) ᾱ. καὶ λαμ-  
βάνω παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ταῖς ἐπω-  
νύμ(οις) ἡμέραις μέτρα χαλ(κᾶ) ἱερατικὰ β̄  
25 σὺν τροχίσκω σιδηρῶ ᾱ, ἃ παραδί-  
δωμι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἑορτήν. ὑπό-  
κειται δὲ μοι παρὰ τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἱερ(έων)





23-4 ἐπισημοίμοιοι ἡμέραισι seem to be synonymous with ἐορτή in 26. Cf. OGIS 1 194. 41 τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐορτάζειν εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν [ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ νομίζειν ἐπισημοίμοιοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν].

24-5 μέτρα χαλκᾶ ἱερατικὰ are unparalleled in the inventories. Grain measures are sometimes named after temples, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen z. Bodenpacht*. The measures may have contained grain for use in the rites. The τροχικός might perhaps have been a round flat dish for taking small quantities of it.

26-35 The construction of this passage is somewhat confused. We might expect ὑπόκεινται in the plural followed by sums of artabas and drachmas as subject and finally a total introduced by ἐξ ὧν συνάγονται.

28 παρητ( ) οἱ παρητ( ) seem to be the only possible readings. Perhaps a conjunction has dropped out, e.g. κατὰ διαδοχὴν (ὅταν) ἕκαστος παρητ(οῖς ?) ἐν τῇ ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, 'in turn, whenever each attends the festivities (?) at the purification of the god and the temple'. If this train of thought is right, the temple of Apollo is normally attended only by the pastophorus, who assists a visiting priest on special occasions and receives an allowance from him. The same sort of situation arises perhaps in XXXVI 2782, instructions to a priestess to go and celebrate rites in a village.

32-3 δραγματολ( ). The only word I can find is δραγματολόγος, which is attested only from Hesychius (= ὁ τὰ δράγματα συνάγων; LSJ's 'gleaning' is wrong). However, the preposition ἀπό, the lack of the definite article, and common sense seem to exclude gleaners being mentioned along with farmers and cleruchs as pious donors. A word δραγματολογία, 'gleaning', is not so far attested, but would be an unobjectionable formation and suitable here.

33 The much-damaged remains after καὶ would suit alpha. Perhaps the writer began ἀπό in place of παρά. He may even have deleted it.

33-5 παρά τῶν . . . βουλομ(ένων) δίδοναι κατ' ἐδέβειαν. Cf. P. Tebt. II 298. 45 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ εὐ[σεβ(εἰας) δι]δομένων ἡ[μ]ιν[.]

36 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀναλ(ώματος). Cf. P. Lond. III 1171. 20 (p. 178), ἀνθ' ὧν λήμματος.

37 ἐπιστατικόν. Cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 252-3.

#### 3474. APPLICATION FOR A LOAN OF SEED CORN

69/38(a)

8.7 × 34.5 cm.

A.D. 197/8

A request, damaged at the top, presented by Ischyron son of Heradion to the commission charged with the distribution of seed corn, for the purpose of obtaining a loan of seed corn in the ratio of 17 artabas of grain for 17 aruras of 'royal' land, cultivated by Ischyron in a *kleros* in the vicinity of Tholthis, to be used for the sowing of the current sixth year of Severus and Caracalla = A.D. 197/8.

The applicant undertakes to use the seed in the approved manner and to repay the loan with interest at the following harvest. Parallels from the Roman period are P. Hamb. I 19 (A.D. 225); VII 1031 (A.D. 228; = *W. Chr.* 343); *SPP* XX 34 (A.D. 232/3), and P. Flor. I 21 (A.D. 239); also P. Coll. Youtie 22 (A.D. 87/8) and 26 (A.D. 156), with references. See too P. Köln III 137, P. Oxy. Hels. 24, and H.-A. Rupprecht, *Unters. zum Darlehen* (*Münch. Beitr.* 51: C. H. Beck, Munich, 1967), 157-60. 3474 is distinguished (a) by the lack of a date at the foot (there is an extensive blank lower margin) - cf. P. Coll. Youtie 26 which also has no formal date-clause; (b) by the declaration of an Alexandrian guarantor in 33-7, and (c) by the references (10-12, 20-1) to orders of the prefect (Aemilius Saturninus). For 'loans' or 'advances' of seed corn see C. Michurski, *Eos* 48. 3 (1956: = *Symb. Taubenschlag* III), 105-38; his theses are complicated further by 3474. The prefect's order in the present instance is obviously general and not specifically linked to Ischyron's application, but it remains unclear

whether it was a routine and regular instruction, or whether in this year there were extraordinary reasons for it, for example a low Nile flood in A.D. 196 (so producing a low yield in 197's harvest) for which there is some evidence: D. Bonneau, *Le Fisc et le Nil*, 252.

In the lower margin are two lines of dockets in different hands, and there is a further docket along the fibres on the back.

- [ c. 19 letters ], μθ[. . .]
- τοῦ [ c. 15 ] ἐξηγητ(εύσαντι)
- αἶρε[θ(εἰς) ἐπὶ κατασπορᾶς] καὶ ἀν[α-]
- δόσεως σπερ[μ(άτων)] χ[ωρο]ύντ(ων)
- 5 εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐνε[ς]τ(ῶτος) 5 (ἔτους) κατασ(ποράν)
- παρὰ Ἴσχυρίωνος [Ἡραδίωνος] τοῦ Ἴσχυ[υ(ρίωνος)]
- ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρίγγων) πόλ(εως). αἰτοῦ[μαι] παραμε-
- τρηθ(ῆναι) παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς] σ(πέσματα) δάνεια
- (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ε (ἔτους) εἰς τὴν τοῦ
- 10 ἐνε(τῶτος) 5 (ἔτους) κατασ(ποράν), κατὰ τὰ δόξαν(τα)
- Αἰμιλλίω Κατουρνείνω τῷ
- λαμ(προτάτῳ) ἡγεμόνι, ἧς γεωργ(ῶ) περὶ
- Θῶλ(θιν) Θμοι(σεφῶ) ἐκ τοῦ . . . γενου
- καὶ ἄλ(λων) κλ(ήρου) βασιλ(ικῆς) (ἄρουρας) [[κς]] (m. 2) ιζ (m. 1) (ἀρτάβας)
- [[κς]] (m. 2) ις,
- 15 (m. 1) ἄσπερ κοκκολογῆσας ἀπὸ κριθ(ῆς)
- καὶ αἴρ[η]ς καταθῆσας εἰς τὴν γῆν
- ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς ἐπακολουθ(ούντων)
- τῶν εἰς τοῦτο προκεχειριμέ(νων)
- ἐπὶ κατασπορ(άν) καὶ ὧν ἄλ(λων) προσήκει
- 20 κατ' ἐνκέλε(υσι) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἡγεμόνος
- Αἰμιλλίου Κατουρνείνου
- καὶ ἐκ νέων ἀποδώσω σὺν τοῖς
- ἐπομένοις ἅμα τοῖς τῆς γῆς
- τελέσμασι τοῦ ἐνε(τῶτος) 5 (ἔτους),
- 25 καὶ ὀμνῶ τὴν Λουκίου
- Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβο(ύς)

Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ(οὔ)  
 Ἀδιαβητικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος  
 30 ἀποδεδειγ(μένου) Αὐτοκράτορος  
 τύχηρ μὴ ἐψείσθ(αι). Ἴσχυρίων  
 Ἡραδίωνος ἐπίδ(έδωκα) καὶ ἀποδώσω  
 ἔκ νέων ὡς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Ἰσίδωρος Ἴσι-  
 δώρου τῷ Ἡρακλείδου Ὠσικικός(μος)  
 35 ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαγεύς ἐγγνώμαι τὸν  
 προγεγραμμένον εἰς ἔκτικω  
 ὡς πρόκειται.

(m. 4) ], [ ]ς κολ( ) ψ( ) . ( ) ις

(m. 5?) ] γρα( ) . . . ( )

Back, downwards along the fibres:

40 (m. 4 ?) Ἴσχυρίων Ἡραδίωνος  
 ], [ . ] . [ . ] κα

11 Κατοργεῖν: ῥ ὕαμaged; ductus of εἰ obscured perhaps by a correction 33 ἰσίδωρος ἰσι  
 37 Below this line a blank space of 3 cm. 38 ]ς: or ]ς 39 γρα( ): or γρα( )

(2-37) '... ex-exegetes, appointed to supervise the sowing and the distribution of seed corn destined for the sowing of the present 6th year, from Ischyron son of Heradion and grandson of Ischyron, from the city of the Oxyrhynchii. I apply to have measured out to me from you as a loan of seed corn (2nd hand) 17 (1st hand) artabas of wheat from the produce of the past 5th year for the sowing of the present 6th year, in accordance with the decisions of Aemilius Saturninus the most illustrious prefect, for the (2nd hand) 17 (1st hand) aruras of royal land which I farm near Tholthis (in the toparchy of) Thmoisepho out of the allotment of... genes and others; which (artabas) I shall clean of barley and darnel and sow in the ground honestly and in good faith under the supervision of those appointed for this purpose over the sowing and of such others as is fitting, in accordance with the order of the most illustrious prefect Aemilius Saturninus; and I shall repay (them) out of the new crop with the accompaniments together with the dues on the land for the present 6th year; and I swear by the fortune of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, Imperator-designate, that I have not lied. I, Ischyron son of Heradion, presented this, and I will repay from the new crop as aforesaid.' (3rd hand) 'I, Isidorus son of Isidorus and grandson of Heraclides, of the Sosicoman tribe and Althaeon deme, guarantee repayment as aforesaid by the person above-written.'

1 Three letters would be the maximum for the final lacuna. Possibly Χαρη[μ]νο[ς]?

3-4 The restoration of these lines is conjectural.

11 Q. Aemilius Saturninus is attested as prefect of Egypt from 197 until 199/200: see G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 (1975) 304. 3474 does not alter the dates of his tenure.

13 I have not succeeded in reading the name of the *kleros*-holder, which does not appear to be one recorded in P. Pruneti, Aeg. 55 (1975) 159-204.

14 [εξ], [εξ]. The first set is almost totally erased, and is restored by analogy with the second. The second εἰς is clear but κ is conjectural on the assumption that the deleted first figure was not ι.

19 ὄν ἀλ(λων) προσέκει. Cf. SPP XX 34. 22.

25-30 The imperial titulature is closely but not precisely paralleled by examples in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, 95-6.

33-7 For the guarantee cf. P. Iand. 30.

38-9 The sense of the docket remains elusive. Only the figure εἰς in 38 recalls the quantity of aruras and/or artabas inserted as a correction in 14.

41 Not, presumably, ἐπιδέδωκα (cf. 32). Possibly a reference to the month and day? Contrast the introd. above, pointing out the absence of a date-clause, and P. Coll. Youtie 26 introd. (p. 236) on the lack of need of a date in texts of this type.

It is not clear whether scattered ink traces to the right of and below what is transcribed are from writing or are just blots.

## 3475. REPORT OF DIKE SUPERINTENDENTS

69/19(a)

6 × 25 cm.

16 March A.D. 220

Two superintendents of the dikes present an account (in naubia) of the work carried out on the dikes of the canals of a specified area of the Oxyrhynchite nome during a five-day period. Cf. P. Giss. 64. 9-12, mentioning a λόγος πενθημέ(ρου) in connexion with χωματεπιμεληταί. No texts precisely parallel to the present one are known to me. XII 1546 (late third century A.D.) is very similar but may not be concerned with a five-day period.

χωματοε( ) in 3-4, cf. 32, should probably be expanded χωματοε(πιμελητῶν) rather than χωματοε(πεικτῶν), cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 44 (1964) 17-19. If this is right, then if XII 1546 (which Sijpesteijn, loc. cit. 17 n. 3, has supposed to refer to χωματεπείκται rather than χωματεπιμεληταί) is set aside, 3475 would provide the latest evidence for χωματεπιμεληταί, previously attested at the latest<sup>1</sup> in A.D. 181/2 from BGU I 12 (= W. Chr. 389). 11; cf. N. Lewis, *Inv. Comp. Serv.*, s.v. There still remains a gap of nearly eighty years before the first dated occurrence of the χωματεπείκτης, A.D. 298 from XII 1469 20, see Lewis, op. cit. s.v.

Across the fibres on the back there is a 23-line account, more or less complete, with sums in drachmas, in a different and very cursive third-century hand.

παρὰ Αὐρη[λί]ου Πετεύριοι  
 καὶ τοῦ κύ[ν] αὐτῷ χωμα-  
 τοε(πιμελητῶν) λιβ(ός) τ[ο](παρχίας) νητίνης μερ[ί]-  
 5 δος. λόγος [τῶ]ν εἰργαζόμενω[ν]  
 δι' ἡμῶν . . . [ . ] . [ . ] . ν(αυβίων) εἰς  
 τὰ τῆς ἀ(ύτης) μερίδος δημόσια  
 χῶματα τῶν ἀπὸ εἰς-  
 ἕως κ<sup>-</sup> καὶ αὐτῆς κ[-]

<sup>1</sup> See now BGU XIII 2265 (c. A.D. 206)

- 10 τοῦ μηνός Φαμενώθ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) [M]άρκο[u]  
 Ἀρρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου {Καί}  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ:  
 χωμάτων κλήρου) κατ(οικικοῦ) (πρότερον)
- 15 Κολλούθου Ἀπολλωνίου  
 διακο( ) πρ.[.]. . . . ν(αυβι-)  
 ναύβ(ια) ρξηLd<sup>-</sup>  
 ὄν  
 Σενεκελ(εὺ) ἀνδ(ρεσ) ιε<sup>-</sup> ν(αύβια) ραd[-]  
 20 Σερύφωσ ἀνδ(ρεσ) ι<sup>-</sup> ν(αύβια) ξζL<sup>-</sup>  
 ἐπιβολ(ήσ) καὶ πλ(εονασιμῶ)  
 ν(αύβια) νδ  
 ὄν  
 ἀνδ(ρεσ) δ<sup>-</sup> ν(αύβια) κζ<sup>-</sup>  
 Σενεκελ(εὺ) ἀνδ(ρεσ) δ<sup>-</sup> ν(αύβια) κζ<sup>-</sup>  
 25 (γίνονται) τῆσ (πενθημέρου) ἀνδ(ρεσ) λγ<sup>-</sup>  
 ν(αύβια) κβLd<sup>-</sup>  
 (ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀρρηλίου  
 [Ἀντωνίνου] Εὐσεβοῦς  
 30 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,  
 Φαμενώθ κ<sup>-</sup>.  
 Πετεύρις χωματοεπιμελητής δι' ἐ-  
 μου Ἀρρηλίου Ἀγαθοῦ Δαί-  
 μονος γρ(αμματέωσ) ἐπιδ(έδωκα).

32 Πετεύρις: π corr. from α?

(2 fl.) 'From Aurelius Peteuris and his colleague, superintendents of the dikes of the southern section of the western toparchy. Account of the naubia dug through us the undersigned(?), for the public dikes of the same section, from the 16th to the 20th inclusive of the month of Phamenoth of the current 3rd year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord. As follows:

For the breaches(?) in the dikes on a catoecic allotment formerly belonging(?) to Colluthus, son of Apollonius, . . . naubia 168½, made up as follows:

	Senekeleu	men 15	naubia 101½
	Seryphis	men 10	naubia 67½
for imposition and addition,	naubia 54,	made up as follows:	
	(Seryphis)	men 4	naubia 27
	Senekeleu	men 4	naubia 27
total for the 5-day period:		men 33	naubia 222½.

The 3rd year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius [Antoninus] Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 20.

I, Peteuris, superintendent of the dikes, have presented this, through me, Aurelius Agathodaemon, secretary.'

1 Traces and interpretation are puzzling. *Prima facie* an alpha can be seen, and possibly ἄ(ντίγραφοσ) should be read; in favour of classifying the document as a copy are the absence (on this reading!) of an addressee and the fact of the subscription in 32-4 being written without a change of hand. Alternatively, should the traces be taken as the residue of the address? There are faint scatterings of ink all the way back to the line-beginning point, and the first (slightly in ecthesis) might be read as ρ, as part of an address to the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton, with the printed traces belonging to his abbreviated title; for Aurelius Harpocraton as strategus at this time, see XLIII 3131 i and n., and the strategus (or basilicogrammateus) would be the expected recipient of the report on the analogy of five-day accounts sent in by other officials (cf. e.g. XXVII 2472, P. Mert. III 102, P. Oslo III 89-91 and PSI III 160). Nevertheless, the traces prior to those printed are exceedingly faint and may be simply blots or offsets. The printed traces might, as a further possibility, be from a column or item number. I am inclined to think that line 1 is in the same hand as the rest of the document, although judgment is difficult with such minimal evidence.

3-5 For χωματοεπιμεληταί see the introduction above and P. Coll. Youtie 21. 10 n. with references; also R. Hübner, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 43-53 (= 3508), with the corrective of N. Lewis, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 141-2. The form χωματοεπιμελητής recurs in P. Giss. 58 ii 15 (A.D. 116), P. Lond. III 1159 (p. 113; = W. *Chr.* 415). 39 (A.D. 144-7), and P. Coll. Youtie 21 (= XLV 3264). 10 (A.D. 80/81). It was already known that the χωματοεπιμεληταί were linked in 'colleges' of two persons. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 44 (1964) 9-16, has further formulated the hypothesis that each of the two was responsible for a whole toparchy, whereas from 3475 it seems rather the case that their competence was limited, for both, to the same area within a toparchy (in 3475 to the southern section of the western toparchy). For the μερίς as an administrative subdivision of a toparchy see P. Köln III 137. 22-3 n.

5 In analogous documents the expression λόγος τῶν introduces a participle, either passive or with intransitive force: cf. λόγος τῶν διαγεγραμμένων, P. Fay. 41 i 6, and λόγος τῶν περιγενομένων, XXVII 2472 6-7. It seems likely that in the present text the participle ἐργασμένων should have passive force (cf. Mayser II. 1 p. 121, Kühner-Gerth I p. 120), so that in 6 we should expand ν(αυβίων); cf. W. *Ost.* 1222. 2-4, ναυβίων μῆ (see W. *Gdz.* p. 337 n. 1) ἀπεργαθέντων.

6 δι' ἡμῶν. Cf., in the case of χωματοεπιμεληταί, P. Harr. 76. 1, O. Mich. 294. 2 and 813. 1; Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, p. 69 no. 6 and p. 72 no. 39. After δι' ἡμῶν, perhaps τῶν [ὑ]περ[γ]ε(γραμμένων)? 8-10 12-16 March. The work here attested falls at the beginning of the period in which the activity of maintaining the dikes and canals appears most intense, from Phamenoth to Mesore, as the greater numbers of naubion-certificates and penthemeros-certificates dated to these months indicate, see Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, pp. 10 and 20, cf. XII 1409 7-8 (March-April A.D. 278) and P. Yale inv. 447 (third century A.D.) in *CE* 49 (1974) 338 seqq.

9 καὶ αὐτῆσ κ[-]. Cf. e.g. P. Mert. III 102. 7.

12 {Καί}. The writer began Καίσαρος but finding he had too little space began the word afresh in the next line, without (it seems) cancelling the three letters already written.

14 The second half of the line is very uncertain. Very little remains of φν of χωμάτων but there is no indication that the word was abbreviated. At end, (πρότερον): α' pap.

14-15 The κλήρος would be an addendum to those listed by P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244.

16 διακο( ) : after omicron a bracket-shaped curve, open to the left and with a lengthened tail. The form is typical of words continuing with π (cf. τ[ο](παρχία), 4). One may think of a word such as διάκο(σος), a breach or opening in the dike (cf. XII 1409 16 and 1469 6 and P. Iand. 139. 21) which requires repair-work (on the meanings of διάκοπος see the note to P. Petaus 18. 24-5). Another, similar possibility would be to suppose a genitive participle, χωμάτων . . . διακο(πέντων). Seemingly we may exclude reading διακό(νον) or διάκο(νος) as a description of Colluthus.

At the end of the line apparently the abbreviation ν(αυβι-). The word occurs again at the start of the next line. Was it written twice in error, on a par with Καίσαρος in 12-13?

21 The extra quantity of naubia dug by a further group of 8 men, on account of ἐπιβολή and πλεονασμός,

may be explained if the *δημόσια χώματα* (7 8) in question related to an estate originally private and burdened with *ἐπιβολή* and *πλευραμός* (see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 20–1, A. Swiderek, *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 38–9) which brought with them supplementary obligations to work on the dikes, even now that the land has been confiscated by the state.

23 These figures clearly refer to the village of Seryphis.

25–6 (*πενθημέρου*): here clearly no more than a five-day accounting period (cf. 8–9 above). The text is not relevant to the question of the existence of the *πενθημέρος*-obligation outside the Arsinoite nome, denied by Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros-Certificates*, 1–2. The use of the word in P. Giss. 64, 12, discussed there by Sijpesteijn, is surely to be explained in the same way, and the present text will represent precisely the type of five-day account referred to.

The *naubia*/man/day relationship is consistently (19 seqq.) 675 *naubia* per man per 5 days (= 135 *naubia* per man per day), and so in excess of the *πενταναυβία*-requirement (see XXXVIII 2847 21–2, P. Coll. Youtie 21. 14).

29 The *damnatio memoriae* of Elagabalus has apparently not occurred before on papyrus. This example has been referred to in the introduction to XLVI 3298. Note that here (but not in 12) *Ἀντωνίνου* alone is cancelled: cf. *HA* xviii 2, *hoc nomen* (that is, Antoninus) *ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est*. The cancellation of the name Antoninus is amply attested in inscriptions, both Greek (IGRR III 62) and Latin (e.g. ILS 1 466, 468, 471, etc.); sometimes all of the emperor's names are affected by the erasure (IGRR 687, III 1228; ILS 1 469, 470, II 7083). In ILS II 5836 the names of Severus Alexander have been substituted for those of Elagabalus. Apart from the case of Geta, for which see P. Mertens, *Hommages à Léon Herrmann* (Coll. Latomus 44: Bruxelles, 1960), 541–52, there are relatively few examples of *damnatio memoriae* on papyrus: see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 220 n. 6. In general, see A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 156.

32 See the *app. crit.* Was it intended to begin the line with *Ἀδρήλιος* (cf. 2)? If so, there is no clear reason for the change of plan.

34 A *γραμματεὺς* subordinate to the *χωματεπιμελητής* is also attested in a number of *naubion*-certificates: W. Ost. 1410; 1411, O. Theb. 127 and (?) O. Tait I iv 77 (see *BL* v p. 160).

*ἐπίδ(έδωκα)*. For the first person, in spite of the formula *δι' ἐμοῦ*, see XLIII 3133 21 and n.

### 3476. SWORN DECLARATION OF 'Απαρχή

43 5B. 64/K (6–8)α

17.5 × 15 cm.

17 September A.D. 260

The problem of the exact meaning of *aparche* is not solved here, but the new document is of interest because it is more nearly complete than the two parallels P. Ant. I 37 and PSI v 464, which in any case relate to Alexandria, while this is from Antinoopolis. The parents of twin sons, between twenty and thirty days old, make their declaration about the *aparche* of the children to the council of Antinoopolis. The essential words are *ὀμνύομεν... τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχήν*. It is interesting to compare this with PSI IX 1067 (A.D. 236; see *ZPE* 11 (1973) 154–5), where the parents of a twenty-nine-day-old daughter submit a petition to the Antinoite council with the essential wording as follows: *βουλόμενοι ἀπαρχήν... θυγατρὸς... ἀξιοῦμεν συντάξαι τῷ γραμματεῖ θέσθαι... ἀπαρχήν*. Since it is known from P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 18 (cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 33, P. Turner 29, 30) that *ἀπαρχή*, in one of its uses, is a technical term for an extract from the records equivalent to the modern birth certificate, we can surmise that PSI 1067 was asking for an entry to be made in the records by the secretary of the council or for a document to be drawn up, see LSJ s.v. *τίθημι* v. 3. Perhaps two documents were always submitted to the council in these cases, one a

declaration like 3476 of the registration or payment of the *ἀπαρχή*, see 9 n., and the other, like PSI 1067, asking for the appropriate entry or document to be written out.

The body of the document (2–13) was written by a professional scribe. The father wrote his own subscription (14–15), an amanuensis wrote and certified a subscription for the mother (15–18), and parts of subscriptions by two witnesses to the boys' identities (*γνωστῆρες*) survive (19–23). The subscription of a third witness will have been lost at the foot, cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 30. 34. The first line consists of a short notation which may have been an item number, see 1 n. This would indicate that the sheet was incorporated into a roll-file (*τόμος συγκολλησίμος*). The back was used again later. Parts of two columns survive and the better preserved is published here as 3477.

(m. 6). .[.].

(m. 1) τῇ κρατίς]τῇ βουλῇ Ἀντινοσέων νέων Ἑλλήνων τῆς λαμ[πράς  
πόλεως]

Μάρκος Ἀδρήλιος Βηγάμμων Σεργίνου δημ. . . . . ςμ[. . . . .]-  
. . . λω.

ὠς] (ἐτῶν) λζ οἰκῶν ἐν τῷ γ γρ(άμματι) πλωθ(είω) ι και ἡ γυνή  
Ἀδρηλία Π[ε]τρ[ωνί]α

5 . . . . ] ὠς (ἐτῶν) κζ θυγατῆρ Ἐυδαίμονος Πε. . . . . ς Παυλείνιου  
τοῦ και

. . . . . ] χωρὶς κυρίου χρημ(ατίζουσα) δικαίω τέκνων κατὰ τὰ  
'Ρωμαίων ἔθῃ

ὀμνύο]μεν τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ  
και Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυνήτου Σεβαστῶν τύχην και θεὸν

μέγιστον

10 'Οσειραντί]νορον τάσσεσθαι ἀπαρχὴν τῶν γενομένων ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων  
διδυμ[α]γενῶν παίδων Μάρκων Ἀδρηλίων Αἰμιλιανοῦ και Ἐυδαίμονος

ἡμερῶν κε παρεχόμενοι γνωστῆρας τῶν ἐξ ἡς ὑπογράφοντας.

(ἔτους) α Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καικάρων Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου

Μακριανοῦ

και Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Κυνήτου Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν,

Θῶθ κ'.

(m. 2) Ἀδρήλιος Βηγάμμων τέταμαι τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν

15 υἱῶν μου ὠς πρόκειται. (m. 3) Ἀδρηλία Πετρωνία τέταμαι

τ]ὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῶν υἱῶν μου ὠς πρόκειται. Ἀδρηλι[ο]ς Σεβαστῶν  
π[ά]μμων Ἀμμωνιανοῦ Καβίνιος ὁ και Ἀρμονιεύς ἔγραψα



Antinoopolis, since the buyer and seller come from Cynopolis in the Delta and Coptus in Upper Egypt respectively, and the only Antinoite involved is Aurelius Basilides, who assists the seller. One theory is that the anacrisis took place where the 'birth certificate' of the slave was registered, another that the location of the sale determined that of the anacrisis; see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 350-1.

Another problem is introduced by the fact that the document was found at Oxyrhynchus, since nothing points to any connexion with that town. However, as the document is a copy the most likely solution is that it was kept on record by the nomarch and that the nomarch of Antinoopolis like the strategē elsewhere had to serve outside his *idia*. If this is so, we might assume that Aurelius Theon alias Philemon was an Oxyrhynchite who, after his tour of duty, went back to Oxyrhynchus taking his papers with him, cf. XL 2941 2 n.

On the left of 3477 stand the ends of 25 lines of a previous item. In spite of severe damage it can be made out that the transaction involved the same slave (19-22), the same seller with her male assistant (10-16), and probably the same buyer (8-9). There was also a mention of a private bank in Antinoopolis, somewhat in the following terms: . . . τῆς . . . ]μῶνος . . . ε-<sup>9</sup>[. . . (= patronymic) Παυλινίου τοῦ καὶ Φιλαδελφίου ἐν Ἀντινόου ἡ πόλει (τῇ λαμπρῇ?) κολλυβιτικῆς τραπέζης, cf. P. Strassb. I 34. 5-7. The document began, after a heading in the top margin now illegible, with a date clause which can be plausibly reconstructed from 3477 18-20, as follows: [ἔτους δευτέρου Αὐτοκράτορος] Καίσαρος [Μ]άρκου Ἀύρηλιου Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ Μ[ε]γίστου Ἐυσεβοῦς ἑ[ἔντυχός] Σεβαστοῦ μηνός Πριανεψιῶνος Ἐπιείφ. The day was either omitted or carried forward into line 5. It will have fallen in the period 25 June-24 July A.D. 270, that is, more than a month earlier than 3477. For the spelling of the Milesian month name cf. LSJ s.v. Πριανοψιών; for the use of that calendar in Antinoopolis see *Archiv* 9 (1930) 226-7, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 165-7.

It is clear enough that this document relates to the same sale as 3477, but the exact nature and structure of it have not yet been discovered.

ἀν[τί]γρ(αφον) ἀνακρίσεως.  
(vac.)

Αὐρηλίω Θεῶνι τῷ καὶ Φιλήμονι διαδεχομένῳ τὴν  
νομαρχείαν Ἀντινόου πόλεως τῆς λαμπρᾶς [ . . . ]  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θεῶνος Διονυσίου μητρὸς Ἐς[. . . ]  
5 ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ κάτω Κυνοπολί-  
του νομοῦ. ὠνούμενος κατὰ δημόσιον χρηματισμόν  
διὰ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀρχείου παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Αἰλο[. . . ]  
Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Ἐλοῦρας ἀπὸ Κοπτι[ί]του τῆς  
μητροπόλεως ὡς (ἐτών) νβ' ἐνκολόβω καὶ [. . . ]

10 μου, ζμῆς, συνεστῶτος αὐτῆ καὶ συμβεβ[αιού]ντος  
τὴν πράξιν Αὐρηλίου Βασιλίδου τοῦ καὶ Φιλαν-  
τινόου Ἰέρακος Ματιδίου τοῦ καὶ Θεεμοφο-  
ρίου καὶ ὡς χρημ[ατίζει] δουλὴν Ἐὐπλοῖαν ἔγγενῆ  
Αἰγύπτῳ ὡς (ἐτών) ις ὑπόστραβον ὀφθαλμῷ  
15 δεξιῷ, ταύτην προσάγω παρούσης τῆς πωλούσης  
καὶ τοῦ συνεστῶτος αὐτῆ, ἀξιών αὐτὴν ἀνακρι-  
θῆναι κατὰ τὰ προστεταγμένα. (vac.) διεντύ[χει].  
(ἔτους) γ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
Α[ὐ]ρηλί[ου] Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ ἢ [Μ]εγίστου  
20 [Ἐ]υσεβοῦς Ἐντυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ (month, day).  
Αὐρηλίος Θεῶνι ἐπιδέ[δωκα]. Αὐρηλία Αἰλο . . .  
[ε]ὐδοκῶ. Α(ὐρηλίος) Β[α]σειλίδ[ης]  
[κ]αὶ ἔγρ(αφῶ) ὑπὲρ α[ὐτῆ]ς γρ[άμματα] μὴ εἰδυῖας.

1 αντιγρ 2 ἰ. Θεῶνι 3 ἰ. νομαρχίαν 8 ἰ. Αἰλοῦρας 9 ωελβ; ἰ. ἐγκολόβου 11 ἰ. Βασι-  
λείδου 12 ἰερακος 13 χρῆ<sup>9</sup>, εγ'γενῆ 14 ωελςῦποστραβον 17 προστεταγ'μενα 18 ἰγ'  
22 α'; ἰ. Βασιλείδης 23 εγρ<sup>5</sup>

'Copy of interrogation. To Aurelius Theon alias Philemon acting nomarch of Antinoopolis the glorious, from Aurelius Theon son of Dionysius, mother Es. . . , from the metropolis of the Lower Cynopolite nome. As I am in the process of buying by public contract through the record office here from Aurelia Ael. . . daughter of Sarapion, mother Aelura, from the metropolis of the Coptite nome, about 52 years old, rather short and . . . with a flat nose, having with her as assistant and guarantor of the sale Aurelius Basilides alias Philatinus son of Hierax of the Matidian tribe and the Thesmothorian deme and however he is styled, a slave girl called Euploea, a native of Egypt, about 16 years old, squinting slightly with the right eye, I bring her forward in the presence of the seller and the seller's assistant and request that she be interrogated in accordance with the ordinances. Farewell. Year 3 of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Claudius Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus (month, day). I, Aurelius Theon, submitted the application. I, Aurelia Ael. . . , am in agreement. I, Aurelius Basilides, . . . and wrote for her as she is illiterate.'

2 The acting nomarch is new. He may have been an Oxyrhynchite, see introd.

On the nomarch and the nomarchy of Antinoopolis see P. Würzb. 8 introd. and *Akten d. XIII intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, 400-1.

3 The end of the line will have been blank.

5 The Lower Cynopolite nome was created in the Roman period, see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes*, 193-4, A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup>, 493 n. 66. This happened before A.D. 209, see XLVII 3345 50 and n.

8 Ἐλοῦρας. The name is new. Since ε is phonetically equivalent to αι, it is probably related to known names derived from αἰλουρος, referring to an Egyptian cat goddess. This may be supported by Αἰλο[ in 7. Col. i 10-11 also has μητρὸς Ἐλού-<sup>11</sup>ρας.

9 ἐνκολόβω. Read ἐγκολόβω, 'rather short'. This new compound is regularly formed, see LSJ s.v. ἐν E 1, 2, a. For the mistaken case see Mayser-Schmoll, *Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, I, 1, pp. 78-9.

9-10 [. . . ]<sup>10</sup>μου. Space would have allowed ἀήμου to be written in line 9, but it might possibly

have been divided nevertheless. If rightly read, *ζμής* excludes *ἐςμίμου* and *ὑπομίμου*. Other possible terms, listed in A. Caldara, 'I connotati personali', *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* (Milano), iv, 2, pp. 110-31, are *εἰκνημος*, *εὐόφθαλμος*, *κοιλόφθαλμος*, *μελανόφθαλμος*, all of which are rare.

18-20 Year 3 of Claudius II is attested only for Thoth and Phaophi and by mid-Hathyr (11 (?) November) a new formula was in use, see XL introd., p. 20. The possible dates range, therefore, from 29 August, the Egyptian New Year's day, to about 10 November A.D. 270.

The victory title *Germanicus Maximus*, known from coins and inscriptions, cf. PIR<sup>2</sup> 1 332 (A. 1626), has not occurred in the papyri before.

### 3478. FORMULA FOR A SUBSCRIPTION

43 5B. 68/F (2-3)b 27 × 7.4 cm. Early fourth century?

Name and patronymic are here replaced by *τίς τινος*, as in other extant formulas, e.g. XXXIII 2677, XLII 3075, SB VI 9226, cf. XL 2927 11, 13, 16, 18, 21. This document may be complete as it stands, like 3075, which is also a subscription, but the top edge is sufficiently irregular to allow the possibility that it is broken rather than cut. If it is broken, the formula for the body of a *διάλυσις* may have preceded that for the subscription. The foot and sides have suffered only minor damage. The back is blank.

The cursive hand may be assigned to the end of the third century or more probably to the first half of the fourth.

I have not found the formula used in this exact form anywhere, but the statement of *διάλυσις* and the oath not to take further proceedings are both found in the subscriptions to XVI 1880 (settlement out of court) and PSI III 185, described as a receipt but also possibly a settlement out of court.

Ἀυρήλιος τίς τινος πεποίημε τῆ[ν δ]ιάλυσιν καὶ ἔσχον τὰ προχρηθέντα  
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
πάντα καὶ ὡμασα τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν μητὲ ἐγκαλέειν ὡς  
πρόκειται  
καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

1 I. πεποίημαι; ὑπ 2 I. ὡμοσα, ἐγκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐγκαλέσειν, πρόκειται 3 επερ ωμολ

'I, Aurelius X son of X, have made the settlement and I received everything that was advanced by me and swore the divine oath that I do not and shall not take any proceedings, as aforesaid, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

### 3479. DEED OF SURETY

43 5B. 68/F (2-3)a 11.6 × 24.5 cm. A.D. 361?

The consular date clause here offers a new combination of names, Flavius Taurus and Flavius Eusebius. This may reflect the circumstances of Julian's quarrel with Constantius and accession as sole emperor in A.D. 361, see 1-2 n.

The document is in three hands. The first wrote 1-2 and the first six letters, *Ἀυρηλί-*, of 3. From this point the second and main hand wrote as far as the end of 19 and ought to be the hand of the main guarantor himself, since his subscription occupies 15-19, but see 1-3 n. Lines 20-3 were written by the main guarantor's son and offer a second guarantee for the same person. The back is blank except at one point near the top where there are some rough strokes which might be a large alpha or chi deleted by cancellation strokes.

The addressee is a *praepositus pagi*. The document looks like a guarantee for a liturgist, cf. e.g. P. Vindob. Sijp. 4, which is drafted in very similar terms to guarantee the service of a comarch. This in turn suggests that the *πρεσβύτερος τῆς . . . κώμης* guaranteee here is a village elder and not a Christian priest, see 8 n.

ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Εὐσεβίου τῶν  
λαμπροτάτων.

Ἀυρηλί(τ. 2)ω Ἀχιλλεῖ πραι(ποσίτω) γ' πάγου  
τοῦ Ὁξυρνηχίτου νο(μο)ῦ

5 παρὰ Ἀυρηλίου Χεώτος Στρουθοῦ ἀπὸ  
κώμης [C]ύρων γ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαιρεί(ν).  
ὁμολογῶ ἐγγυῶμαι Ἀυρ[ή]λιον [Ἀ]πολλῶν  
πρεσβυτέρου τῆς [α]ὐτῆς κώμης Σύρων  
μονῆς καὶ ἐμφανίας ὅποταν ἐρῆ ἄνευ  
10 πάσης ἀντιλογί[α]ς καὶ ὁμνύω τὸν σεβάσ-  
μιον θεῖον ὄρκον ἀληθῆ εἶναι καὶ τὴν  
παράστασειν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
τοῦ προκείμενου Χεώτος ὡς προείπον.  
εἰ δὲ φανῇ ψευδᾶμέν[ο]ς, ἐνοχος ἐσομαι  
15 τῷ θείῳ ὄρκῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τοῦτο κ[ι]νδύνῳ.  
Ἀυρήλιος Χεώ[ς C]τρουθοῦ ὁ π[ρο]κείμενος Ἀπολλ[ώ]ν [καὶ  
τῆ]ν παράστασιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι ὅπ[ο]σ-  
ταν [ἐρ]ῆ καὶ ἐπερωτη[θεὶ]ς ὡμολόγησα.

20 (m. 3) Ἀυρήλιος Κυρίων Χεώτος ἐγγυῶμαι  
τὸν προκείμενον Ἀπολλῶν μονῆ[ς]  
καὶ ἐμφανίας καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.

1 ὑπατειασφλαουίων; 1. Φλαουίων, Ταύρου 3 πραι? 6 χαιρεῖ 7 I. ἐγγυάσθαι 8 I. πρεσ-  
βύτερον 9 I. ἐμφανείας, αἰρή 12 I. παράστασιν αὐτοῦ; ὑπ 14 I. φανείην 15 I. τοῦτου 16 I.  
προκείμενος 17 I. ἐγγυῶμαι, προκείμενον 18 I. αὐτοῦ, ποιήσομαι? 19 I. αἰρή 21 I. προκείμενον  
22 I. ἐμφανείας

<sup>1</sup>In the consulship of Flavius Taurus and Flavius Eusebius, *virī clarissimi*.

To Aureli(2nd hand)us Achilles, praepositus of the third pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Cheos son of Struthus from the village of Syron of the 3rd (pagus) of the same nome, greetings. I agree to stand surety for Aurelius Apollos, elder(?) of the same village of Syron, for his remaining and appearing whenever you choose without any contradiction and I swear the august divine oath that this is true and that he will be produced by me the above-mentioned Cheos, as I have stated above. If I should turn out to have lied, I shall be bound by the oath and by the danger therein.

I, Aurelius Cheos son of Struthus, stand surety for the above-mentioned Apollos and I shall(?) produce him whenever you choose and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Syron son of Cheos, stand surety for the above-mentioned Apollos, for his remaining and appearing, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

1-2 The combination of consuls is new. One Flavius Taurus was consul in A.D. 361, another in A.D. 428. The consul of A.D. 513 cannot be relevant here, as the writing is clearly earlier and he is referred to in the papyri by another of his *nomina*, Clementinus, cf. R. Bagnall-K. Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 122. Probably A.D. 428 is also too late for the hands, and an additional argument is provided by the address to a *praepositus pagi*. According to N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v., this post is last mentioned in A.D. 365. The passage referred to, C. Theod. 12. 6. 8, clearly shows that they were still functioning then, but even so A.D. 428 seems too late.

The junior consul of A.D. 361 was Flavius Florentius. Both consuls fled to Constantius before Julian's advance in summer A.D. 361, see PLRE 1 365 (Florentius, 10), 879-80 (Taurus, 3). After the death of Constantius and the accession of Julian as sole emperor the commission of Chalcedon tried Taurus and exiled him to Vercellae. It tried and condemned Florentius in his absence and he had to remain in hiding till after Julian's death. This distinction suggests the guess that Taurus was allowed to remain in the consular *fasti*, while the junior consul was replaced by a Flavius Eusebius. This Eusebius may have been the consul of A.D. 359, a brother of the Eusebia who was the wife of Constantius and who intervened with Constantius on Julian's behalf on two occasions, cf. PLRE 1 300-1, though it may not have been consistent with his dignity to take the position of *consul posterior*.

It is unfortunate that no day was given either in line 2 or at the foot, where we might have expected a clause of the type *ὑπαρέλας τῆς αὐτῆς, vel sim.*, followed by month and day. If the suggestion made above is right, the day must have been fairly late in A.D. 361. This could fit well enough with the view, expressed in the introduction and in 8 n., that this surety is for a liturgist, who would be taking office probably for the Graeco-Roman year A.D. 361/2 on or about 29 August, but there is no regularity in the dates of such sureties, see e.g. P. Vindob. Sijp. 3 of 21 September - the date is corrected in H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae*, 1 406-7 (= *TAPA* 95 (1964) 306-7) - and P. Vindob. Sijp. 4 of 29 June.

1-3 The first two lines and *αυρηλι* of line 3 were written by another hand than the one which wrote lines 3-19. Could it be that the scribe who wrote the main section had a pile of already dated sheets lying ready, including the letters *αυρηλι*, which could be turned into masculine or feminine, singular or plural, as the occasion required? That scribe ought to be Cheos himself, since 15-19 contain his subscription and there is no subscription by an amanuensis, but it seems rather unlikely that a villager would have a pile of dated sheets and write his own deed of surety. More likely it would be done by a scribe in the office of the praepositus and the need for the usual subscription for illiterates was overlooked, or possibly bungled, see 20-3 n.

3 On the *praepositus pagi* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 131-4. This incumbent was unknown.

4 This line was added after 5 had been written and is crowded into the normal interlinear space.

6 γ'. Cf. VI 991, where read γ' for γ ο'. A photograph shows that the supposed omicron is tiny and may be better taken as a flourish on the oblique stroke. In both places, then, γ' means 'of the third pagus'. Both Syron and Seryphis, which is the village concerned in 991, were in the Western toparchy, see e.g. X 1285 71, 75, and may suitably be placed in the same pagus.

8 The title *πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης* ought to leave no doubt that he was a secular presbyteros and not a Christian priest. N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v., gives A.D. 382 as the latest date for village elders, though others take the later evidence to be ambiguous and suppose that they disappeared much earlier, e.g. A. Tomsin, *Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg.* 38 (1952) 524-5, J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 134-5, n. 6. The form of this document suggests that this man was a liturgist and hence an elder rather than a priest, see introd.

14 Read probably *φανη(ν)* = *φανείην*, with the routine loss of a final nasal, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1 111-14.

20-3 It seems odd to find the guarantor's son, who is not mentioned above, giving the same guarantee as his father. What is expected is that the official scribe's work should have ended with 15 and that there should follow a subscription to the same effect as the body of the document in the hand of the guarantor or, if the guarantor was illiterate, in that of an amanuensis, who would also subjoin a statement that he wrote on behalf of an illiterate. Possibly this is what should have happened here and the drafting was bungled, cf. 1-3 n.

## 3480. PETITION TO A BENEFICIARIUS

43 5B. 68/F (1)α

17 × 26.5 cm.

c. A.D. 360-90

This paper is related to the archive of Papnuthius and Dorotheus, published in XLVIII 3384-3429. Because of severe abrasion, which leaves the meaning of several passages in doubt even now, the name of Dorotheus son of Aphynchis was not recognized till after the allocation of the known archive to Dr Shelton.

The petitioner alleges that Dorotheus, with the help of some slaves, showered blows on him and his wife when he tried to claim money owing to him for wages. The doubts about the details are treated in the commentary.

The petition was submitted to a *beneficiarius officii praesidis Augustamnicae*. It was therefore written before Oxyrhynchus entered the new province of Arcadia, presumably upon its creation in the later years of the decade A.D. 380-90. Probably it is not earlier than A.D. 360, the year of the first mention of Dorotheus in the other papers of the archive, see XLVIII p. 75.

Evidently this is a copy, since the subscription is in the same hand as the rest of the document. The inventory number indicates that it was found in the same season of excavation as XLVIII 3384-3429. Probably, therefore, it was actually part of that archive and not of official archives or of the files of the petitioner.

The back is blank.

Φ[λαο]νίω 'Ισιδωριανῶ β[εμφικιαρίω τ]άξω[ε]  
 ἡγεμονίας Αὐγουσταμνικῆς  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Γού<ν>θου Πενήφιος ἀπὸ τῆς 'Οξ[υρυχι-  
 τῶ] πόλεως. Δίδυμο[ε] καὶ 'Αἰὼν τέκνα τῆς [ἀδελ-  
 5 φῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας γαμετῆς καὶ ἐκ προτροπῆς [Δωρο-  
 θ]έρον 'Αφν[γχι]ίου τω[δ] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀτήρ[ε]  
 ἀπήνητσαν ἐ[μο]ὶ πρὸς ἀπηργασίαν τῆς ε. . . .  
 συνθέμενος δὲ καὶ ἡ <ῆ>μετέρα γαμετῆ καθεσχέτημεν  
 10 . . . [ . ] ε . . . . . ἔβαικεν χρυσαργύρου πραγματεγτικῶ?  
 . . . . . τοῖς πρ[ο]ειρημένους Δυδύ[μω]



καὶ Ἀϊῶνι ἀπεντήσαμεν πρὸς τὸν προειρη[μένον  
 Δωρόθεον τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἔναικεν τῶν [ὑπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν χρεωστουμένων μισθῶν ἐξ ἀπο. . . . .  
 15 .[.] . . . , τρυπέσσιν νομισματίων ἐν, πρὸς τὸ χωρ.  
 .[.] . . . . ας τῶ λόγῳ. οὐκ ὕδαμεν δὲ τίνι τρόπῳ  
 πρὸς τῇ ἀγν[ω]μοσύνη ἐπήλθεν ἡμῖν, ἐμοὶ τε καὶ  
 τῆς [ῆ]μετέρας γαμετῆς μετὰ οἰκετῶν τ[ι]νων  
 καὶ πληγῆς ἡμᾶς κατέκοψεν καθ' ὅλου τοῦ ζ[ώ]ματος?  
 20 . . . . . ἐν προεξεχθε[. . . . .  
 . . [.] . . . . αὐτη[ς] γαμετῆς κ. . . . . [.] . . . .  
 . . [.] . . . . ἰ προσ. . . . . τοις ἐξε. . . . . [.] . . . .  
 υ. [.] . . . . ἡμέτερον τροφίμου Ἑρωνῶ το. . . . . [.] . . . .  
 . . . . . ὄθεν τὰ βιβλίῳ ἐπιδίδωμι . . . [.] . . . .  
 25 χρεωστούμενα ἀπ. [.] . . . ηναι καὶ τὴν δέο[υ]σαν . . .  
 . . . . . ἐν γενέ[ς]θαι κατὰ τῆς ὑβρ[ε]ως. (vac.)  
 Αὐρήλιος Γούνο[ς] ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος Θεῶν ξ[ι]γρ[α]ψα  
 ὕ(πέρ) αὐτ(οῦ) γ[ρ](άμματα) μῆ εἰδ(ότος).

1 ἰσιδωριανῶ 4 αἶων 7 ἰ. ἀπεργασίαν 8 ἰ. συνθέμενοι, παρασχέιν, ἐπειδή 9 ἰ. ἐγώ τε,  
 κατεσχέθημεν 10 ἰ. ἔνεκεν 11 ἰ. Διδύμῳ 12 αἶων; ἰ. ἀπεντήσαμεν 13 ἰ. ἔνεκεν  
 15 ἰ. τρυπέσσιν 16 ἰ. οἶδαμεν 18 ἰ. τῇ ἡμετέρῃ γαμετῇ 19 ἰ. πληγαῖς

'To Flavius Isidorianus *beneficiarius* of the office of the governor of Augustamnica, from Aurelius Gunthus son of Penephis from the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Didymus and Aion, children of the sister of my wife, precisely as a result of the urging of one Dorotheus son of Aphynchis from the same city, themselves approached me with a view to doing work on . . . , agreeing to provide a wage. Since, then, I and my wife were held responsible on account of . . . of the trade-tax in gold and silver (incumbent on?) the aforementioned Didymus and Aion, we approached the aforementioned Dorotheus for the payment of wages owed by him out of (our unpaid remainder?), that is, one *solidus*, with a view to . . . the account(?), but in some way we fail to understand, in addition to his refusal to pay, he attacked us, me and my wife, with the help of some slaves, and battered us with blows all over the body. . . . of our foster-child Heronas . . . Therefore I submit the petition (requesting that?) the sums owed should be (repaid?) and that the necessary (official action?) should be taken to punish the outrage.

I, Aurelius Gunthus, submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius Theon, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 Isidorianus may be acting as *stationarius*, i.e. as a military officer in charge of law and order in the nome. Cf. CPR v 12. 1 and n.

4-8 The situation can only be conjectured. In *προτροπῆς* (5) and *συνθέμενος* (l. -οι; 8) there seem to be echoes of the language of partnership contracts, cf. e.g. P. Oxf. 12. 11, 12, 21. This favours the guess that Dorotheus hired Didymus and Aion to do certain work and encouraged them to co-opt Gunthus to help them. The parallel is far from complete, because in P. Oxf. 12 the encouragers are the original

partners not the employer, and the subject of *συνθέμεν* (11) is the new partner. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Gunthus applied to Dorotheus for unpaid wages, and the echoes are probably significant.

7 ἀπεντήσαν. The third letter appears to be η, correctly, though ἀπεντήσαμεν (l. ἀπεντ-) is clear in 12. ἀπεργασίαν. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 245 (iii).

At the end of the line the remains look like τῆς ἐσορῆς. The only certain occurrence of this word in the papyrus is in P. Haun. II 17. 14, though it is printed with several dots and assigned an improbable sense in P. Lips. 85. 11, 86. 11. It usually means 'coffin'. The mention of the trade-tax in 10 indicates that these persons were tradesmen rather than agricultural workers.

8 *συνθέμενος*. Read probably *συνθέμενος*. If the circumstances really were as outlined in 4-8 n., it was with the original partners that Gunthus had a contract for wages. He tried to get them direct from the employer, Dorotheus, who refused to admit his claim.

10-11 For *χρεωστουμένων* *πραγματευτικῶν* (cf. W. Chr. 281. 31), the tax levied in bullion on tradesmen, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 129-37, cf. XLVIII 3415 introd.

At the beginning the traces might suit ἐπι[μ]ελίης (l. -είας), though this does not give any very clear sense. At any rate we may have there a word governed directly by ἐνεκεν and itself governing *χρεωσαγύρου*.

It is uncertain whether *πραγματεντ[ικ]οῦ* was written wholly in line 10 or was carried over into 11. In 11 -τος might be a participle agreeing with *χρεωστουμένων* and governing τοῖς προειρημένους; ἀνήκοντος might suit.

14-15 It is doubtful whether ἐξ ἀπολο[γ]ήτων ἡ[μ]ῶν, 'from our unpaid residue', will suit the traces, but it may represent the sense.

19-20 Probably ζ[ώ]ματος was divided between the lines, either as *κύ-ματος* or *κύμα-τος*. The remains in 20 have not been identified.

23 Not Ἑρωνῶτος.

24 After ἐπιδίδωμι not immediately ἀξίων or καὶ ἀξίω, though that sense is required.

25-6 The sense requires something like ἀποδοθῆναι and ἐπεξέλευσιν. Neither has been identified.

27 The amanuensis formula was very rapidly written and is damaged as well. The remains may not all be assigned to the correct letters.

## 3481. DECLARATION OF A SHIPPER

21 3B. 29/A (2-4)a

98 × 32.2 cm.

10 September A.D. 442

Aurelius Andreas, a shipper, acknowledges the embarkation of a quantity of grain from Thonius, a miller, along with an unspecified extra amount in respect of freight and other subsidiary charges. For the type of document cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 13 (1976) 71-4, and P. J. Sijpesteijn-K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 157-65, with references (add XLVIII 3395); A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (1978: *Studia Amstelodamensia* 13). The papyrus is complete, and dated by the Oxyrhynchite-era system. The writing occupies the upper half of the sheet only. The back is blank.

The destination of the cargo is not stated, nor is it clear whether Thonius is the payer or simply the loading-agent. There is no specific statement as to whether this is a private delivery or a cargo of revenue-grain (whether for Alexandria or elsewhere), but I suppose that the incidence of transportation-taxes (esp. *κακκοφορικόν*) is decisive for the latter.

Ἀὐρήξει[ι]ος Ἀνδρέας  
 Δημητρίου κυβερνήτης πλοίου  
 Θέωνος περιβλήπτου μεμέτρη<sup>7</sup> με<sup>8</sup>  
 καὶ ἐνεβαλόμην εἰς τὸ  
 5 αὐτὸ ὑπ' ἐμὲ πλοῖον  
 παρὰ Θωνίου μυρονάρχου  
 ἀπὸ γενήματος ἑνδεκάτης  
 κίτου καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας  
 πέντε, γί(νονται) κί(του) (ἀρτάβαι) ε, τοῦτον  
 10 καὶ τὰ ναῦλα καὶ τὰ κούμει(α)  
 καὶ τὸ κακκοφορικὸν  
 ἐκ πλήρης. ριθ πη,  
 Θῶθ ιγ.  
 (m. 2) ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρέας  
 15 εσεημίεμμι.

1 I. Ἀὐρήλιος      3. I. μεμέτρημαι      6 I. μυλωνάρχου      10 I. κούμουλα      12 I. πλήρου  
 15 I. εσεημίεμμι

1 Aurelius Andreas son of Demetrius, captain of a ship belonging to Theon *vir spectabilis*, had measured out to me and loaded on to the same ship under my command, from Thonius mill-master, from the produce of the eleventh (indiction), five artabas of pure wheat, tot. 5 art. of wheat, this and the transportation-charges and the supplementary charges and the portorage-tax, in full. (Year) 119/88, Thoth 13.

(2nd hand) 'Signed by me, the aforesaid Andreas.'

3 περιβλήπτου = *spectabilis*. See O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate*, 31. This is one of the earliest instances of the title. Later it was debased, but at this date Theon, though hardly to be identified, is likely to have been a person of some importance.

7 ἑνδεκάτης. Sc. ἰνδικτίσιος, or read (ἰνδικτίσιος). The eleventh indiction will presumably be that of A.D. 442/3, given the date of the document in 12-13. However, the harvest from which the grain has come must surely be that of 442. Thus this text seems to imply that the eleventh indiction here started with the *praedelegatio* (not the *delegatio*) on 1 May 442 which would be contrary to the arrangement accepted as normal at Oxyrhynchus, viz. that the indiction-year began on Thoth 1.

For an explanation of this phenomenon see now R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978), 26-7, where a distinction is drawn between the reckoning of indictions for fiscal purposes, in which the indiction began on 1 May with the *praedelegatio*, and the reckoning for dating purposes where the indiction began later, with the *delegatio* (1 July) or later still (Thoth 1 in the Oxyrhynchite nome).

9 Five artabas of wheat would of course form only a small fraction of the boat's cargo. τοῦτον καί: cf. P. Cair. Isid. 36. 10, καὶ τοῦτων τὰ ναῦλα. Possibly the genitive plural is intended here despite the changed order.

10-11 Cf. XLVIII 3395 12 n., and see Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 12-14.

## VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

## 3482. CESSION OF CATOECIC LAND

27 3 B. 40/F (5)a

26.5 x 29 cm.

8 October 73 B.C.

Theon, son of Antiochus, a 'Macedonian' and catoecic cavalryman of the tenth hipparchy, in return for benefits received in the past cedes to Dionysius, son of Apollonius, also a 'Macedonian' of the same hipparchy, 9.5 out of the 28.5 aruras of catoecic land which he held. Dionysius already held 9.5 aruras of what had been a 38-arura parcel, so that the net result of the present transaction was to give the two principals equal shares.

The right-hand two-thirds of the document survive almost perfectly preserved, but of the left third only the upper third remains, in poorer condition and pieced together out of four fragments. There are two kolleseis on the sheet, and the break which has lost us much of the left side of the document occurred down the left edge of the overlap of the left-hand kollesis. The back is blank.

This is a welcome addition to the few other documents of this type of Ptolemaic date, of which only one clearly comes from Oxyrhynchus, XIV 1635 (44-30 B.C.; for the date cf. *Prosop. Ptol.* VIII p. 160, corr. of II 2508), which is but a small fragment of a once much larger document. P. Fouad 38 (early first century B.C.) may also be Oxyrhynchite. The others (BGU VIII 1731-40) all belong to a homogeneous group from the Heracleopolite nome and are datable to between 99 B.C. and the end of the Ptolemaic period.

For the relationship of these documents to the gradual evolution from the inalienability of catoecic land to its tolerated alienability, see W. Kunkel, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 48 (1928) 285-313; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*, 236-7; F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens*, 41 n. 2; W. Müller, *Proc. IX Int. Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo, 1958), 183-93, esp. 186-93.

This document provides proof of the direct derivation from a Ptolemaic format (already hypothesized by G. Vitelli, PSI IV 320 and VIII 897 introd.) of certain expressions used in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of Roman date. The immediate consequences are the textual improvement and better understanding of various passages in the deeds referred to which had remained obscure largely due to the lack of a Ptolemaic model. These Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of catoecic land of Roman date are: II 366 descr. (A.D. 14/15, *BL* 1 321); PSI IV 320 (A.D. 18); PSI X 1118 (A.D. 25/26; see note to line 12 below); P. Ryl. II 159 (A.D. 31/32); PSI VIII 897 (A.D. 93); P. Strasb. 266 (c. A.D. 100); III 504 and III 633 descr. (both early second century A.D.).

Our document consists of two separate sections which are also physically divided

by a blank space. The first (1–27) contains the deed of cession (*συγγραφή τῆς ὁμολογίας*, 27), while the second (28–39) contains the corresponding royal oath (*βασιλικὸς ὄρκος*). The document ends with the docket of a public official (40).

Within the first section we can further distinguish the *παραχώρησις* (1–16) and a *ὁμολογία* in which are set out the criteria for the division of the *κλήρος* between Theon and Dionysius (16–27). The presence of this latter section, which we may define as a *ὁμολογία διαίρεσεως*, seems not to be due to localized causes (for example, to the fact that the *κλήρος* should be *ἀδιαίρετος*), but rather to be the section of the document normally reserved for the establishment of the extent and boundaries of the ceded land; this would of course also clarify the taxation responsibilities of the two parties. In sum, it is maintained here that the form and structure of 3482 represent the form and structure normal in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of catoecic land of the first century B.C. The further fact that 3482 like the Heracleopolite deeds of cession (BGU VIII 1735–40) contains the royal oath (as does P. Fouad 38, possibly Oxyrhynchite) demonstrates that this was no merely local usage but necessary for the full legal validity of the cession.

As regards the juridical position of cleruchic land and the procedure by means of which a cession could be effected, we learn from 3482 that the matter was administered *διὰ τῶν τὰ ἵππικὰ χειρίζοντων* (5), and that the drawing-up of the deed of cession was preceded by the presentation, by the person proposing to cede the land, of a memorandum to the official in charge of the register of catoecic land (5–6). In the interval between presentation of the memorandum and the drawing-up of the deed of cession the *μετεπιγραφή* would probably have taken place, that is the official registration of the land in the name of the new holder. There is, however, no explicit reference to *μετεπιγραφή* in the actual deeds of cession of catoecic land from Oxyrhynchus, Ptolemaic or Roman; but that this took place *διὰ τῶν καταλοχιμῶν*, and in relation to changes in tenure of catoecic land, is proved by II 273 21 (A.D. 95), the sole testimony so far to *μετεπιγραφή* at Oxyrhynchus. The procedure at Oxyrhynchus, then, is basically the same as that at Heracleopolis, and formal divergences in the definitive deeds (at Oxyrhynchus *ὁμολογία παραχώρησεως*, at Heracleopolis *ὁμολογία εὐδοκίσεως τῆ γεγονυία τῷ δεῖνι μετεπιγραφῆ*) are in all probability due to local variations in notarial practice. For a summary of the procedure see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 228–9.

βασιλευόντων Πτολεμα[α]ίου καὶ Κ]λεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Τρυφαίνης θεῶν  
 Φιλοπατόρων Φιλαδέλφων, ἔτους  
 ἐνάτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν κοινῶν ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γράφεται, μηνὸς Δίου  
 καὶ Θωοῦ κθ, (vac.) ἐν Ὁξ(υρ)ύγχων πό(λει)  
 τῆς Θηβαίδ[ο]ς. ὁμολογεῖ Θεών Ἀντιόχου Μακεδῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης  
 ἱππαρχίας κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων) Διονυσίω Ἀπολλωνίου

Μακεδόνι [τ]ῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἱππαρχίας ρί δύο ἀγυῖα Κλεοπάτρας  
 Ἀφροδίτης παρακεχωρηκεῖν αὐτῷ ἀκο-  
 5 λούθως τοῖς δ[ι] τῶν τὰ ἵππικὰ χειρίζοντων ὠκονομημένοι ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Θεῶν  
 δέδωκεν ὑπομνήματος Εὐδαίμονι  
 τῷ πρὸς καταλοχιμοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῷ μέρους ἡμίσεως  
 τετάρτου κλήρου ἀδιαίρετου ἀρουρῶν λη  
 πρότερον Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ Σεπέτα οὗ τὸ ἄλλο τέταρτον μέρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρουρας ἐνέα ἡμις  
 [ε]ν ὑπάρχωσιν τῷ Διονυ[σίω] καὶ ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τετάρτῳ  
 μέρει εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἡμίσεως  
 τοῦ ὅλου κλήρου κυρίως τὸν [π]ᾶντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμίσι καὶ  
 φιλανθρώποις ἀκολουθῶσιν τοῖς προτετα-  
 10 γμένοις καὶ ἐπεσταλμένοις ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπέληφεν τὸν Θεῶνα καὶ εὐχρήστηκεν  
 αὐτῷ ἐμ πλείοσιν τῶν κατὰ  
 τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν τῶν τοῦ κλήρου αὐτοῦ βασιλικῶν διόρθωσιν ἐφ' ᾧ  
 παρέξεται τῷ Διονυσίῳ τὴν γῆν καθαρὰν  
 ἀπὸ βασιλικῶν πάντων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων καὶ μὴ ἐμπρηγέσθαι Θεῶνα  
 μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 [ὧν π]αρακεχώρηκεν καθότι πρόκειται μηδὲ μέρος μηδὲ κατοτεχνησεῖν περὶ  
 τὴν παραχώρησιν παρευρέσει  
 [μηδ]εμίᾳ· ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων ἀθετῆ, ἄκυρον ἔστω καὶ προσαποτεϊκάτω  
 Διονυσίῳ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ, καθ' ὃ ἂν  
 15 [εἶδος ἀθετῆ, ἐπίτιμον] ἀργυ[ρίου] (δραχμὰς)] φ [καὶ] εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ ἕκον  
 καὶ μηθὲν ἦσσαν τὰ διωμολογημένα κύρια  
 [ἔστω ὡς πρόκειται. ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ Θεῶν καὶ Διονύσιος διειρηθῆναι τὸν  
 κλήρον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὧσ' ἔχειν Διονύ-  
 [σιον] ± 25 letters τ]ῆς μὲν λεγομένης τῶν δεκαεξ  
 ἀρουρῶν σφραγίδος ἣ ἔστω ἐκ τοῦ  
 [(name) κλήρου ± 25 ] τῆς καλουμένης Κῶίων γῆς  
 λιβὸς δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ πρὸς λίβα  
 [μέρος ἡμις διατεῖνον βορρὰ ἐπὶ νότον] ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἦ ἡ σφραγίς· ὁμοίως δὲ  
 καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ νότου τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρα-  
 20 [δείσου σφραγίδος ἔχειν τὸν Θεῶνα τὸ πρὸς ἀπηλι]ώτην μέρος ἡμις  
 διατεῖνον βορρὰ ἐπὶ νότον ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ τῆς σφραγίδος

[ ±31 ]. σφραγίδων· ἔχειν δ' ὁμοίως  
τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Καλλίππου  
[κλήρου σφραγίδα ἀρουρῶν . . . καὶ Θέων]α τὴν πρὸς τῶι ἄνω γύηι ἑτέραν  
σφραγίδα ἀρουρῶν ἐννέα· τῆς δὲ  
[σφραγίδος ±17 ἔχειν] τὸν Διονύσιον  
τὸ πρὸς λίβα μέρος ἤμισυ, Θέωνα δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἀπηλι-  
[ώτην ἄλλο μέρος ἤμισυ, καὶ μηδ' ἑτέρωι αὐ]τῶν μηδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν  
ἔξεῖναι παραβαίνειν τι τούτων  
25 [ ±31 ] . . . ἰσρῆς ἢ χωρὶς τ[ο]ῦ ἄκυρα  
εἶναι ἂ ἐὰν παραβαίη καὶ προσποτεῖ-  
[ράτω ὁ παραβάς τῶι ἐμμένοντι ἐπίτιμον] . . . . . φ καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὸ  
ἴσον. συνευδοκεῖ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς  
[κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς ὁμολογίας ἢ Θ]έωνος γυνὴ Διονυσία Ἀμμωνίου  
μετὰ κυρίου Θέωνος τοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
[ ] (vac.)  
[Ἰ]ομνύ βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασιλεῖσσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν καὶ  
Τρύφαιναν θεοὺς Φιλοπάτορας  
[Φιλαδέλφους καὶ τοὺς τούτων προγόνο]υς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς Θέων  
Ἀντιόχου<sup>1</sup> Μακεδῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
30 [δεκάτης ἱππαρχίας ὁμολογεῖν Διονυσίω] Ἀπολλωνίου Μακεδόνι τῶν ἐκ  
τῆς αὐτῆς ἱππαρχίας ἀγυῖας  
[Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ εὐδοκεῖ]ν ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς  
ὁμολογίας τὴν κειμένην  
[ἄ]μα τῶι ὄρκωι τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ἀγορανόμ]ων τῆι ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέραι καθ' ἣν  
παρακεχώρηκά σοι ἀκολουθῶς  
[τοῖς διὰ τῶν τὰ ἱππικὰ χειριζόντων ᾧ]κρονομημένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός  
μοι μέρους ἡμίσιου τετάρτου  
[κλήρου ἀδιαιρέτου ἀρουρῶν λη πρό]τερον Ἀλεξάνδρου περὶ Σεπέπτα οὐδὲ τὸ  
ἄλλο τέταρτον μέρος ἐστὶν ἐόν  
35 [ἀ]ρούρας ἐννέα ἤμισυ εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ] ἡμίσιου τοῦ ὅλου κλήρου καὶ  
μηθὲν παρασυγγραφῆσιν μηδὲ  
[κακοτεχνήσῃ περὶ τὴν τῆς ὁμολογίας συγγρα]φὴν μηδὲ περὶ μηθὲν τῶν δι'  
αὐτῆς ἀναπεφωνημένων μηδὲ

[περὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον παρευρέσει μηδ]εμίαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶ κατὰ τὰ  
προγεγραμμένα συνχωρῶ τὰ μὲν  
[κατὰ τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν] μένευ κύρια, ἡνίκα δ' ἂν  
εὐθυθῶ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ κλήρου μου  
[ἀναλημφθῆναι εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ με] ἔνο]χον εἶναι τῶι ὄρκωι.  
[ ] (vac.)  
40 [ ±31 ] . . . οὐδὲ παρὰ Διονυσοδώρου  
κ. . . [ . . . ] ἰταίτα . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> φιλοπατορων: π corr. from μ 10 l. ἐν πλείοσιν 16 l. διηρήσθαι 22 l. ἄνω 24 l. τοῖς παρ' αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup>In the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra also called Tryphaena, gods Philopatores Philadelphoi, in the ninth year – and the rest of the formula as written in Alexandria – the 29th of the month Dios which is equivalent to Thoth.

In the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the Thebaid, Theon son of Antiochus, a Macedonian and one of the catoecic cavalrymen of the tenth hipparchy, acknowledges to Dionysius son of Apollonius, a Macedonian and one of those from the same hipparchy, both of them from the street of Cleopatra Aphrodite, that he has ceded to him, in accordance with the administrative arrangements of those controlling cavalry affairs and on the basis of a memorandum submitted by Theon to Eudaemon the official in charge of the registry of military settlers' land grants, nine and a half aruras out of the threequarter share falling to him of an undivided allotment of 38 aruras situated near Senepta, formerly belonging to Alexander, of which the remaining quarter share belongs to the said Dionysius, that they may belong to Dionysius and his descendants in addition to his own quarter share and make up the half of the whole allotment; irrefutably for all time, and along with the other rights and benefits in accordance with the ordinances and instructions, in return for the support given to Theon and the good services rendered to him in many aspects of daily life and of the settlement of royal taxes on his allotment; (and) on condition that he makes the land over to Dionysius clear of all outstanding royal taxes, and that neither Theon nor anyone else on his behalf will lay claim to the property ceded as aforesaid, even in part, nor resort to fraud regarding the cession on any pretext whatsoever. If he should set aside any of these provisions, such action is to be invalid and he is in addition to pay to Dionysius or his assigns for every specific breach a fine of 500 silver drachmas and the same to the royal treasury, and none the less are the agreements to be irrefutable as aforesaid.

Theon and Dionysius further acknowledge that they have divided the allotment on the following terms, so that Dionysius is to have . . . of the section called "of the sixteen aruras" which is from the allotment of . . . of the land called "of the Coans", and on the west the western half share of the garden, stretching from north to south for as far as the section reaches. Likewise of the section from the south of the same garden Theon is to have the eastern half share, stretching from north to south as far as the boundary of the section . . . sections; likewise Dionysius is to have too the section from the allotment of Callippus, of . . . aruras, and Theon the other section of nine aruras near the upper field, and of the section . . . Dionysius is to have the western half share and Theon the other eastern half share. To neither of them nor to their assigns shall it be allowed to contravene any of these conditions . . . or apart from the invalidity of whatsoever contravention, the contravener shall further pay to the person abiding by the conditions a fine of 500 silver drachmas (?) and the same to the royal treasury. The wife of Theon, Dionysia daughter of Ammonius, with the said Theon as her guardian, gives her assent to all the conditions of the contract of agreement.

I, Theon son of Antiochus, a Macedonian and one of those from the tenth hipparchy, swear by King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra also called Tryphaena, gods Philopatores Philadelphoi, and by their ancestors and by the other gods, that I have come to an agreement with you Dionysius son of Apollonius, a Macedonian and one of those from the same hipparchy, from the street of Cleopatra Aphrodite, and

assent to all the provisions of the contract of agreement drawn up together with this oath through the agoranomi on the present day, in accordance with which I have ceded to you, in conformity with the administrative arrangements of those controlling cavalry affairs, nine and a half aruras out of the threequarter share falling to me of an undivided allotment of 38 aruras situated near Senepa, formerly belonging to Alexander, of which the remaining quarter is yours, so as to make up the half of the whole allotment; and that I shall not break the contract nor resort to fraud in any respect regarding the contract of agreement or any of the declarations made in it or regarding this oath, on any pretext whatsoever; but if I do not act as aforesaid, I agree that the provisions of the cession and agreement are to remain irrefutable, and that when I am brought to account the remaining portions of my allotment are to revert to the Crown and also I am to be held liable to the consequences of the oath.

I, . . . , the substitute for Dionysodoros, . . .

2-3 ἐν Ὁξ(υρήνων) πό(λει) τῆς Θηβαίδ[ο]ς. See J. D. Thomas, *The Ptolemaic Epistrategos (Papyrologica Coloniensis VI, 1975)*, appendix 2, pp. 125-31.

3 κα(τοίκων) ἱπ(πέων). Cf. e.g. P. Teb. 1 47. 9 with plate VII to illustrate the form of the abbreviation, slightly more cursive and ligatured in 3482.

4 οἱ δύο. Cf. XIV 1628 8 and 1629 7, and possibly 1635 3 (see note), πάντες 1644 8.

ἀγυιάς Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης. Cf. P. Köln III 145 introd. To the documents cited add IV 802 (= SB VI 9255)+P. Ryl. IV 586 (99 B.C.), where lines 9-10 should read \*ἐπιγονῆς οἱ τρεῖς ἀγυιάς Κλεοπάτρας 10 Ἀφροδίτης. This street seems to have been lived in exclusively by caotiec cavalry, Macedonians and Persians of the succession.

4-5 ἀκολούθως. . . ὕπομονήμενοι. Cf. XIV 1635 4-5; also BGU VIII 1731. 9, ἀκολούθως ταῖς δ[ιὰ τοῦ ἱππ]ικῆ λογιστηρίου οἰκο[ο]μίαις. These two expressions, with the same meaning, are at the origin of the phrase which recurs in the deeds of cession of caotiec land drawn up at Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period, ἀκολούθως τοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικῆ ὕπομονήμενοις, where one should understand ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικῆ λογιστηρίου; cf. III 504 9, P. Ryl. II 159. 5-6, PSI IV 320. 5-6, VIII 897. 8-9, 63-4 and X 1118. 2-3. The ἱππικῆ λογιστήριον carried out the ceded land; this activity is documented in the Ptolemaic period (cf. BGU VIII 1732. 3, 1733. 5; P. Teb. 1 63. 121 [BL III 240]), and especially in the Roman period, given the greater number we possess of cessions of caotiec land (BGU XII 006. 18; CPR I 1 [= SPP xx 1], II 1, 27-8; CPR I 188. 9; P. Mich. v 259. 12-13, 30-1; P. Mich. v 262. 8-10; P. Mich. v 267-8. 6-8, and 273. 5-6).

5 ἀφ' οὗ. . . ὑπομήματος. Frequent usage in Oxyrhynchite deeds of cession of caotiec land, cf. PSI IV 320. 6, VIII 897. 9, 64, and X 1118. 3, and P. Ryl. II 159. 6. An equivalent expression occurs in BGU II 578. 21 (A.D. 189) and III 888. 23 (A.D. 160), ἀφ' ὧν ἐὰν τελειώσω ἐνεχυράσις γραμμάτων, on which see A. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma*, p. 80 n. 2 and p. 81 n. 1.

6 τῶν πρὸς καταλοχιμοῖς. This is the earliest attestation of this official, already evidenced by BGU VIII 1772. 6 (Heracleopolite, 57/6 B.C.), 1769. 1-3 (Heracleopolite, 48/7 B.C.: *Prosop. Ptol.* II 2509 = 2490), and XIV 1635 5 (restored: Oxyrhynchus, 44-30 B.C.).

In the Roman period ὁ πρὸς τοῖς καταλοχιμοῖς continued to operate at Oxyrhynchus: cf. PSI IV 320. 8 (A.D. 18), PSI X 1118. 4 (A.D. 25/6), P. Ryl. II 159. 7 (A.D. 31/2), I 165 descr. (A.D. 81), XII 1462 2, 23 (A.D. 83/4) and III 504 10 (early second century A.D.); add to these the nearly contemporary instances of the ἀκολουθούμενοι τοῖς καταλοχιμοῖς, I 45 2 (A.D. 95), I 175 descr. (c. A.D. 95), II 341 descr. (A.D. 95-100), and I 46 2 (A.D. 100), and of the ἐπιτηρητῆς καὶ χειριστῆς καταλοχιμῶν, XII 1462 3, 24 (A.D. 83/4), I 174 descr. (A.D. 88), and II 346 descr. (A.D. 100). These officials are also recorded in the Arsinoite nome, P. Fam. Teb. 25. 1 (A.D. 129), P. Phil. II 2 (A.D. 141; see M. Blanken, *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* XIV 116-18), BGU VII 1565. 1-2 (A.D. 169), and PSI XV 1540. 8, 14 (second century A.D., published in advance by M. Manfredi, *Dai Papiri della Società Italiana* (Firenze, 1965), pp. 31-2), and in the Hermapolite nome, P. Flor. I 92. 2 (A.D. 84). The area of their competence is limited to the nome (cf. XII 1462, P. Flor. I 92, I 174 descr. and II 346 descr.), but in A.D. 169 the official in charge of the καταλοχιμοῖς in the Arsinoite nome held the same position in other nomes too (BGU VII 1565. 2). At central government level, finally, we find an official in charge of the καταλοχιμοῖς for the whole of Egypt, I 47 and II 344 descr. (both late first century A.D.) and P. Grenf. II 42. 1 (A.D. 86; BL I 187).

7 πρότερον Ἀλεξάνδρου. For this κλήρος see P. Pruneti, 'I κλήροι del nomo Ossirinichite', *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244, esp. 166 seqq.

8 [τ]να. . . ἐγγόνους. Cf. BGU VIII 1732. [8], 1733. 9 and 1734. 8. The phrase reflects the wish to confirm the acquired right to the hereditary transmission of the allotment. In the Roman period, when the cleruch exercised wide rights of ownership over his holding, we regularly find τοῖς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ (see P. Mich. v 262. 4, 267-8. 2 and 303. 2, and PSI VIII 905. 4 and 906. 2), or else τοῖς ἐγγόνους καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ παραλημφομένοις (see III 504 14). XIV 1635 8-9 (44-30 B.C.) should be restored as follows: ἀνηγγμένοι[ν. . .] ὑπάρχου τῶν Σπαρτάκου καὶ ἐγγόνου[ι] καὶ προκειμένου. . .

9 κυρίου. Cf. H. J. Wolff, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 90 (1973) 373.

κυρίου. . . φιλανθρώπου. The secure reading in this line enables us to read or restore the corresponding passages in XIV 1635 9, III 504 15-16, P. Ryl. II 159. 15, PSI VIII 897. 70 and PSI X 1118. 11-12. The term φιλάνθρωπον is here used in its juridical sense; the granting of such benefits was the exclusive prerogative of the king, who authorized them in favour of individuals or groups, associations, corporations, etc. In particular we know of numerous φιλάνθρωπα granted to cleruchs and consisting for the most part of fiscal and penal amnesties. Cf. M.-Th. Lenger, 'La notion de "bienfait" (philanthrōpon) royal et les ordonnances des rois Lagides', *Studi Arangio-Ruiz* 1 (Napoli, 1952) 483-99; the author collects and examines all the evidence and the texts recognizable as φιλάνθρωπα, among which P. Teb. 1 124 (= C. Ord. Ptol. 54) constitutes an excellent example of indulgences with respect to cleruchs. It seems likely that the term τίμιον too implied something precise, originating from the sovereign, but we lack the specific documentation which could tell us what was meant. Apart from the deeds of cession of caotiec land cited above, τίμιον and φιλάνθρωπον occur together only once: in a decree of M. Antonius (SB I 4224 = V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1955, no. 300) we read (line 12) καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὧν ἦν τίμιον καὶ ἐμοὶ τιμίον καὶ φιλανθρώπων. Among the other references to τίμιον, note BGU IV 1185 II 28 (Heracleopolite, 60/59 B.C.) because the word occurs within a royal πρόσταγμα (the first column of this text = C. Ord. Ptol. 71); note too, for similarities between some clauses and those in deeds of cession of caotiec land, P. Teb. II 204 (A.D. 146, an application to the idiologus for the post of προφήτης in the temple of Soknebtynis), 17-20: μένει δέ μοι καὶ ἐγγόνους καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ μεταλημφομένοις ἡ τούτων κυρεῖα καὶ κράτης ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιμίους καὶ δικαίους πάσι.

9-10 ἀκολουθῶν. . . ἐπεσταλμένοις. At the end of the Ptolemaic period it was common practice for the φιλάνθρωπα to become the object of successive royal ordinances, so that an indulgence originally granted in extraordinary circumstances could thus be extended to other groups and receive the force of law (cf. M.-Th. Lenger, op. cit.). In this case, the ordinances and regulations generically cited confirmed clearly that the possibility of cession should not annul the benefits previously accorded to the allotment. The προτάγματα and ἐπιστάγματα, many of which concerned cleruchs and their lands, are collected in C. Ord. Ptol.; in general, for the juridical position of cleruchic property, see J. Lesquier, *Inst. Mil.*, 224-54.

10 ὑπελήφην. Cf. CPR I 1 (= SPP xx 1, A.D. 83/4), 21: ἀποσιτάω. . . παραχρήμα ὁ ὑπελήφην παραχωρητικῶν κεφάλαιον μετ' ἡμιολίας.

ἐύχρηστηκεν. Cf. BGU VIII 1739. 13 (the other papyri in this group have the expression ἀνθ' ὧν πεποιήται. . . ἐύχρηστίων). For the meaning and importance of ἐύχρηστίαις in deeds of cession of caotiec land see W. Kunkel, *ZRG (Röm. Abt.)* 48 (1928) 288. For the perfect without reduplication, which is not abnormal, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 429, esp. (7).

The underlying situation in 10-11 is as follows: Dionysius has lent to Theon sufficient money to pay the taxes on the latter's holdings, and now receives 9½ aruras out of those holdings in repayment of the debt. It is to be noted, however, that throughout the deed care is taken to avoid terminology proper to contracts of sale and loan. All wording which might imply transference of money between the parties is deliberately omitted; thus ἐύχρηστέω, 'to be of service to a person', is used in preference to δανείζω. In the Roman period there is no longer any *raison d'être* for this attitude, and more precise verbs are used which more closely represent the actual facts: λαμβάνω (P. Ryl. II 159. 18), but especially ἀπέχω (P. Ryl. II 159. 37; III 504 17, 46; PSI VIII 897. 45, 72 and 89), and P. Strasb. 266. 18), ἐχω (PSI VIII 897. 23) and παραπέχω (PSI X 1118. 14).

ἐμ (I, ἐν) πλειόσω. Cf. P. Dura 18. 6, 23. Note PSI X 1118. 13-15 and P. Ryl. II 159. 18-19, where it is said that the party now making the cession had had recourse to a loan in pressing circumstances, ἐν ἐπιείκους καιροῖς. This latter expression is Ptolemaic in origin and it is interesting to find it in C. Ord. Ptol. 71 4, an ordinance extending to the cleruchs of the Heracleopolite nome a penal and fiscal amnesty already granted to those in the Arsinoite.

10-11 τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον. Cf. XIV 1635 11 and note, now clarified by the present text.

11 Βασιλικῶν. Cf. 12. The reference is to the numerous tax burdens to which the cleruchs were subjected (cf. J. Lesquier, *Inst. Mil.*, 212 23), including the *στέφανοι* explicitly mentioned in the Heracléopolite cessions (cf. BGU VIII 1731. 8, 1732. 8-9, 1733. 10-11, 1734. 8-9, 1735. 14, 1739. 13 and 1740. 1c).

12 ἀπὸ . . . χρόνων. In the absence of more specific dates this must mean that the land is transferred free from tax liabilities up to the date of the drawing up of the deed. Only in the present deed is a precise date lacking, and the fact is somewhat surprising given that it was a means of better self-protection on the part of the person making the cession. In the Heracléopolite cessions the land is declared to be free from tax liabilities up to the date of the *μετεπιγραφή* (cf. BGU VIII 1731. 10-13, 1732. 11-12, 1733. 13-15 and 1735. 16-18) or else the terminal point is specified. In the Oxyrhynchite deeds of Roman date the land is clear of taxes up to the end of the year preceding that in which the deed of cession was drawn up, cf. III 504 24-8; PSI VIII 897. 30-4, 79-82; P. Ryl. II 159. 23-7 and P. Strasb. 266. 5-7. On this basis it should be possible to assign a more precise date to PSI X 1118; since the land is declared clear of taxes up to the end of the 11th year of Tiberius (lines 18-20), the deed should have been drawn up during the 12th year, i.e. A.D. 25/6.

14 ἀθετή. In the Heracléopolite cessions and in the Roman-date Oxyrhynchite ones *παρασυγγραφεῖν* is commonly used (cf. too 35 below). For ἀθετεῖν cf. BGU IV 1013. 20, 1123. 11; P. Dura 18. 8, 27, 28; P. Mich. III 186. 21, 187. 20; P. Oslo II 31. 21; SB V 8035a 19 and VI 8974 fragm. 3, 31.

15 [ε]ῖδος. Cf. UPZ II 196. 35 (116 B.C.); II 270 44; P. Ryl. II 159. 30; PSI VIII 897. 36, 83; PSI X 1118. 24, and P. Strasb. 266. 11.

17 τῆς μὲν λεγομένης τῶν δεκαεξᾶ ἄρουρῶν σφραγίδος. A topographical novelty.

18 τῆς καλουμένης Κόων γῆς is a novelty. The presence of Coans in the Oxyrhynchite nome was not previously attested. Note the much later XXXVI 2771 (A.D. 323).

20 διατείνων βορᾶ. For the use of the genitive cf. III 505 6.

21 ἐκ τοῦ Καλλίππου (sc. κλήρου). This κλήρος is not *prima facie* recorded in P. Pruneti, 'I κλήροι del nomo Ossirinichite', *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244. We are grateful to Professor Jacques Schwartz in Strasbourg for confirming a query, that Καλλί. ππου in P. Strasb. 534. 4 (Pruneti, op. cit. p. 184) should be corrected to Καλλίππου.

22 γύνη. Cf. XVII 2098 introd., ἐν τῷ ἄνω γίνεαι. For γύναι in the Oxyrhynchite nome cf. further II 373 (descr.); VI 918 II 4, 10; X 1279 12; XII 1537 15; XIV 1636 14; XVII 2134 17; PSI VIII 897. [14], 44; PSI IX 1078. 19; and negatively XLII 3047 5 etc. (ἀγνοσητήτου). For the significance of γύνης see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 34; P. Teb. I 62 introd.; P. Teb. I 105. 13 n. and II 311. 18 n.; P. Hamb. I 62. 10 n.; W. Crönert, *CR* 17 (1903) 194, and C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 31 (1978) 94 (re-editing P. Teb. II 445).

25 χωρὶς τ[ο]ῦ ἄκρου εἶναι. Cf. XIV 1644 22-3 and P. Mich. III 194. 24-5. In deeds of cession of catoecic land the more usual form of the saving clause (for which see A. Berger, *Strafklauseln*, 47-50, 85) is μηθὲν ἔσσαν τὰ διωμολογημένα κύρια ἔσσαι: cf. 15-16, and BGU VIII 1731. 18, 1734. 23; III 504 32; P. Ryl. II 159. [31]; PSI VIII 897. 39, 85 and X 1118. 25, and P. Strasb. 266. 12.

26 Should the amount of the fine already expressed in 15 be repeated here? The traces preceding φ are too damaged to permit reading (part of) ἀργυρίου (δραχμάς) here.

συνευδοκεῖ. Cf. BGU VIII 1731. 12-13 (consent of wife), 1733. 16-17 (consent of brother) and 1738. 20 (consent of son). This third-party consent to the cession indicates that the person giving approval has legal rights over the property capable of exercise at any moment. Wives of cleruchs may have had or been able to acquire certain rights over the holdings, if the fiscal and penal amnesty in a royal ordinance could be extended beyond the catoecic cavalry to their wives and sons, see C. Ord. Ptol. 71. 6. Further, a wife has rights on any and all property which could be used to help repay her dowry in case of divorce, see G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, 137-43.

Among Oxyrhynchite cessions of Roman date the consent of third parties is found in III 504 32.

27 Cf. 31.

28 The oath is reconstructed on the basis of the preceding *παραχώρησις* and of P. Fouad 38 (first half of the first century B.C.). That papyrus contains precisely the final part of an oath consequent on a deed of cession, from a formulaic point of view sufficiently close to 3482 to allow us to suppose that it too comes from Oxyrhynchus. BGU VIII 1735-40 are oaths of the same type, but they were written separately, on different sheets from those containing the deeds of cession.

32 διὰ τῶν ἀγορασίμων. An equally possible supplement would be *μημιόνων* instead of *ἀγορασίμων*. At Oxyrhynchus the *ἀγορανομίον* is documented from the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, BGU X 1973. 2, 1974. 1, and P. Berl. inv. 11803. 16, 29 (publ. by F. Uebel, *Festschr. zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin, 1974, pp. 441 seqq.). Moreover at Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period the *ἀγορανομίον* was interested in cessions of catoecic land even though the relevant deeds had not been drawn up through it, cf. I 45-7, 165, 174-6, and II 341-2, 344, 346-7. It is now generally accepted that the *ἀγορανομίον* and the *μημιονεῖον* are substantially one and the same, in Oxyrhynchus in the Roman period at any rate; see M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976) 23-6.

36 Contrast the solemnity of *ἀναπεφωνημένων* with the simplicity of the parallel P. Fouad 38. 4-5, τὰς κειμένας δι' αὐτῆς διαστολάς. Cf. P. Fay. 14. 2-3, τοῦ ἀναπεφωνημένου Νομηγίου στέφανου, and UPZ II 162 col. v. 26, τοῦ ἀντιδίκου ἀναπεφωνηκότος.

38 Cf. P. Fouad 38. 9. Its missing upper portion was obviously composed like 3482 of *παραχώρησις* followed by an agreement settling the details. Lines 2 seqq. there provide further evidence. εὐθυρθῶ. Cf. P. Fouad 38, 11 with the note on p. 100.

40 The subscription of an as yet unidentified official, perhaps from the *μημιονεῖον* or *ἀγορανομίον*. Cf. 31 and n. Transcription of the cursive and partly damaged last part has so far eluded us. There is possibly a superscript indication of abbreviation at the end.

## 3483. CONTRACT

34 4B. 76/K (10a)

45 × 18.5 cm.

Early first century

All that remains of this contract is a strip showing the foot and parts of twelve lines, which contained several standard elements of its close. These are a *πράξις*-clause (1-5), a *κυρία*-clause (5), the subscription of an amanuensis (6-8), apparently but not certainly in the hand of 1-5, date (9-10), and the subscriptions of two witnesses (11-12). The back is blank.

c. 15 letters ] , c οὐςη[ε

cοι(?) ἔκ τε ἡμῶν ἀμφοτέρων κ[αί

ἔξ οὐδ' ἐὰν ἡμῶν ἐρήμι καὶ ἐκ [τῶν

ὑπαρχόντων] ἡμῖν πάντω[ν κα-

5 θάπερ ἐκ δίκης. ἡ χεῖρ κυρί[α.

c. 10 ] , ρίωνος ἔγραψ[α

αὐτῶν μοι (?) συνταξάντων [

διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰθῆναι αὐτοὺς χρ[υ(ἀμματα?).

c. 10 ] Καίκαρος Σεβαστ[οῦ

10 c. 10 ] (vac.) [

c. 10 ] ξους μαρτυρῶ. (vac.)[

c. 10 ] Τρύφωνος μαρτυ[ρῶ.

3 l. αἰρή 4 l. ἡμῶν 8 l. εἰθῆναι

1 At this point we expect *πράξις*. The remains look like ]α, for which no plausible explanation has yet been suggested. However, it could still be correct. Omega is just possible.

2 If not *coi*(?), perhaps *ὀμῶ*(?).

6 At first sight the ligature suggests ]φ or ]ε, but in *ἡμῶν*(3) the omega ligatures to nu.

7 For *συνταξάντων* cf. E. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ*, 70. To his examples add, from WB s.v. *συντάξω*, P. Gradenwitz 7. 23. For *αὐτῶν μοι*(?) cf. P. Rein. 1 11. 31. The other examples have *ἐγγραφα*, *αὐτῶν συνταξάντων*. P. Rein. 11 is of the second century B.C., the others of the third century B.C.

9-10 The month and day were probably specified in 10, implying that the titulary ended with *Ἐβρατ[οῦ]*. Perhaps there is a statistical probability that the emperor was Tiberius, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 25-7, i.e. restore (ἔτους) *ν. Τιβηρίου* *Καίσαρος Ἐβρατ[οῦ]*(month, day)]. A short title of Gaius would also fit, but his title more usually contained *Γερμανικοῦ* after *Ἐβρατοῦ*, see Bureth, op. cit., 28-9.

## 3484. FREIGHT CONTRACT

58/B (63)a

14 × 19 cm.

A.D. 27-33

The papyrus lacks both head and foot and is broken and badly rubbed in many areas. The ends of lines 5-29 are preserved but the beginnings of only 19-29. There is a sheet join c. 2.5 cm. from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

The contract has unusual features, some of which are obscured by the damage. Only one other document, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 162-5, provides for a round trip. The voyage is from Oxyrhynchus outwards to Euergetis in the Cynopolite nome with a cargo of wheat and thence back to Oxyrhynchus with a cargo of wine. The document has the air of a private contract between three shippers, named in line 8, and a party whose name or title has been irrecoverably damaged in 21 and 27. If that is so, it is the earliest surviving private contract for river transport. Some doubts arise because there are mentions of a supercargo, *τὸν ὑπὸ τρυῶ* .[. .].*ου* *συνπεμφθῆσόμενον ἐπίπλου* (27-8), and of a percentage charge of some kind (13). These are features otherwise found only in contracts for the transport of goods delivered to the state, see the synoptic table in A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*, 90-103.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the person whose name, or perhaps title, is lost in 21 and 27 was an official arranging transport of state goods. But the payment in two instalments is also typical of private contracts, see Meyer-Termeer, op. cit. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Three Oxyrhynchite documents referred to in this book by their inventory numbers, see *ibid.* index p. 274, have now been published as P. Oxy. Hels. 14, 20, and 37.

c. 20 letters ]πα.[. . . .].του.[. . .].[. . .]  
 c. 20 ]τικῶ.[. . .]να, ὡς[ε ἀ]ποκατ[α-  
 κτησαι εἰς Ἐνεργέτιδα τοῦ] *Κυνο[πο]λείτου*, να[ύ]λου τοῦ[  
 συμφωνηθέντος πρὸς ἀλλ]ήλους, [καθ]αρῶν ἀπ[ὸ π]άντων[ν,  
 5 τοῦ ἀναπλόου τοῦ πυ]ροῦ κα[ὶ] κατ[α]πλόου τ[οῦ] ὄψιν ἄρρη-  
 ρίου Ἐβρατοῦ καὶ Πτολ]εμαϊκοῦ [ν]ομίσματ[ο]ς δραχμῶν  
 c. 20 ] ἀφ' ὧν αὐτόθεν ὁμολογοῦσι οἱ νε-  
 ναυλωκότες c. 8 ], ἱρις καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πρόβλιος ἔχεν

παρὰ τοῦ c. 7 ἐν Ὁξυ]ρύγχων πόλει διὰ χιρὸς ἐξ οἴκου  
 10 c. 20 ]ου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας, τὸ δὲ  
 λοιπὸν ὁ c. 7 ἀ]ποδοῦτω αὐτοῖς ἐν Ἐνεργέτιδι  
 c. 15 ] οἴνου καὶ σπονδῆς ναι[ί]σκου κερά-  
 μιον ἔν. c. 12 ] δὲ οἱ νεναυλωκότες ἑκατοστῆς  
 c. 15 ὡς τ]ῶν ἑκατὸν κεραμίων κεράμιον  
 15 ἔν c. 13 ἀν]ηλώματα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀνάπλου  
 τοῦ πυροῦ c. 10 π]ρὸς τὸν κατάπλου τοῦ οἴνου εἰς  
 c. 18 ]ου καὶ πηδαλίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν θη-  
 c. 18 ] ἀπαιτηθῆσομένου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ  
 πάντῳ[ν τῶ]ν τρυῶ ἀναπλόου καὶ καταπλόου καὶ  
 20 τῶν ἀλλ[ω]ν ἀνηλωμάτων πάντων [ὄν]των  
 πρὸς τὸν .[. .].[. .].ν. τῆ [ο]ῦν τρι[τ]η τοῦ ε.[. . .].τος μη-  
 γὸς Φαρμούθ[ι τ]οῦ . . . κ[α]ιδ[ε]κάτου [ἔ]τους] *Τ[ι]βηρίου*  
*Καίσαρος Ἐβρατοῦ* παρακτη[ε]άτωσαν [οἱ] νεναυλω-  
 κότες πρ[ὸ]ς τὸν ἀ[ν]ήπλου τοῦ πυ[ροῦ] εἰς[ι] *Ἐνερ-*  
 25 *γέτιδα* . . . . . α ἐτύμον πρὸς ἐμ-  
 βολὴν τοῦ πυροῦ κ[α]ὶ ἀναλαβόντος τὸν πυρὸν  
 καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τρυῶ .[. .].*ου* *συνπεμφθῆσόμενον*  
 ἐπίπλου ἀποπλευσάτω <can> {ἐατῶ παρεχόμενος}  
 ἑατῶς παρεχόμενοι ἐν τῶ .[. .].ῶ.[. . .].[. . .].ω  
 30 c. 30 ].[ c. 5

9 l. χιρὸς 12 l. νεναυλωκότες 13 l. νεναυλωκότες 18 δὲ corr. from καὶ 23-4 l. νεναυλω-  
 κότες 24-5 l. Ἐνεργέτιδα 25 l. ἐτόμιον 26 l. ἀναλαβόντες 27 l. συμπεμφθῆσόμενον  
 28 l. ἐατῶ 29 l. ἐαυτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> . . . so as to deliver to Euergetis in the Cynopolite nome, at the freight charge agreed upon between each party, free from all charges, for the carriage of the wheat upstream and of the wine downstream, of . . . drachmas of silver in imperial and Ptolemaic coinage, from which the charterers, . . . iris, Gaius, and Publius, acknowledge that they have received on the spot from . . . in the city of the Oxyrhynchi from hand to hand out of the house three hundred drachmas. . . , but the remainder . . . is to pay to them in Euergetis (at the loading of the?) wine, as well as one ceramion of wine as a gratuity to the lads. And the charterers are to . . . as a percentage . . . on one hundred ceramia one ceramion. . . expenses for the carriage of the wheat upstream . . . for the carriage of the wine downstream . . . the charges for . . . and pilotage (?) and the sum that will be exacted at the . . . , as well as all the expenses of the carriage upstream and downstream and all other expenses, being the responsibility of . . . Therefore on the third of the . . . month of Pharmuthi of the . . . teenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the charterers are to supply for the carriage of the wheat upstream to Euergetis the boat ready for the loading of the wheat, and having taken on board the wheat and the supercargo who will be sent with it by . . . they are to sail off, providing for themselves . . .

3 *Ευεργέτιδα τοῦ Κυν[πο]λείτου*. Cf. 11, 24–5. P. Osl. III 114 concerns the mistaken description of land actually in the Oxyrhynchite nome as belonging to the Cynopolite, the owners coming from a place called Euergetis. The editor's note on line 5 ends, 'an Euergetis in the Cynopolite, which might perhaps have caused the mistake, is unknown'. This new document reinforces the implied theory. The Euergetis in IV 814 (description) is arguably the same, since the excerpted text contains the passage, 'Κῶνος Προλεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ *Ευεργέτιδος*'. Κῶνος reappears as a personal name in F. Preisigke, *NB s.v. Κῶνος*, but it may be better taken as *Κωνός*, the genitive of the personal name *Κῶνος*, see *NB* and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Names in Herm- and Pan- are frequent in the Hermopolite and Panopolite nomes, so Cyon may well indicate a connexion with the Cynopolite nome, which adjoins the Oxyrhynchite. Similarly the name of Lycaena daughter of Lycas in P. Köln II 85 may well indicate that the Euergetis of that text is the one in the Lycopolite nome. For these and other places of the same name see A. Calderini, *Dizionario geografico*, II, 1, pp. 183–4; add at least P. Köln I 55, II 85.

4 *συμφωνηθέντος*. Cf. e.g. M. Chr. 341. 5, XLIII 3111 9. Alternatives are *διεστημένου* (XLV 3250 10) and *συμπεφωρημένου* (P. Oxy. Hels. 37. 4).

4–5 For the supplement cf. 15–16, 19, 24.

7–8 *ἀφ' ὧν . . . ἔχειν*. The payment in two instalments is typical of private freight contracts, see introd.

9 The name or title of the person hiring the boat was of c. 7 letters, cf. [11], 21, 27.

10 It is not clear whether we should restore *ἀργυρίου* preceded by some other phrase or *ἀργυρίου* followed either by *ζεβαστοῦ* or *Προλεμαϊκού*, or by some combination of words such as these and *ἐπίσημος*, *δόκιμος*, *ἀρεστός*, cf. P. Hamb. I 2. 10, 14–15.

10–11 The exact amount outstanding is usually specified in the form *τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς δραχμάς . . .* with or without the addition of *τοῦ ναύλου*, cf. XLV 3250 14, P. Ross.-Georg. II 18. 130–1, 190, M. Chr. 341. 7, but in P. Iand. inv. 616 + 245. 22–4, see ZPE 20 (1976) 163, we find [τὸ δὲ] *λοιπὸν ἀπολήμψεσθαι ἅμα [τῇ ἐν 'Οξυρ]γγχείτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς Τεβεννοῦθεως ἐκβ[ολῆ]*.

11–12 In these contracts the balance owing is usually payable on the unloading of the cargo, cf. XLV 3250 15, P. Ross.-Georg. II 18. 30, 149, M. Chr. 341. 7. In this case, however, Euergetis is the harbour at which the wheat is unloaded, see 24–5, and it looks as if the second instalment was to be paid at the loading of the wine, [*ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τοῦ οἴνου*].

12 *σπονδῆς*. Cf. *Syhb. Osl.* 17 (1937) 26–48. One ceramion was a customary amount, see *ibid.* 37, XLIII 3111 15.

*ναυ[τ]εκοῖς = ναυϊκοῖς*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 249, 256.

13 *νεναυλωκότος = -τες*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 291. Similar spellings occur in lines 23–4, 26.

13–15 *Ὀκταστοῖς* see Meyer-Termeeer, *op. cit.* 17–19. The conclusion there is that these additions were extra charges to be delivered to the state. Here the situation is still obscure. It is noticeable that the percentage is applied only, as far as can be seen, to the wine cargo on the return journey. In 13 supply an imperative such as *παραλαβέτωσαν* or *ἀναλαβέτωσαν*. At the beginning of 14 restore perhaps *τῆς κελευθείσης*, cf. XXXIII 2670 35–6, Meyer-Termeeer, *op. cit.* 107 n. 301.

15 The form *ἀν[η]λλώματα*, probably accusative, seems to suggest that the transporters were to receive an advance for expenses, which were to fall on the other party, see 18–21.

16 At the end of the line *εἶτι (= ἐτι?)* is the obvious reading of the undamaged writing; *ει (= ἐν?)* might be possible, since *εἶτι* occurs again in 18.

17–21 The sense of this clause is well paralleled in P. Oxy. Hels. 37. 4–5 *τῶν τελῶν καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ κατὰ ποταμῶν δαπανῶν*] καὶ ἐνομίων καὶ ξυλικῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν νεναυλωμένον.

17 *πῆδάλιον*. Cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 263 ('probably a fee for the services of the pilot'), 264, 275, 465 nn. 42, 44.

17–18 This charge is possibly to be related to *ταμείον*, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 264 ('storage'), 265. If so, restore something like *τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν θη[σαυρῶν τῶν ὀρμῶν] ἀπημνησθέντων*.

21 The traces allow *εἰ[σι]ώγτος* or *εἰ[σε]γ[ό]γτος*, but the former is perhaps preferable, see ZPE 20 (1976) 163, where the contract is dated Thoth 4 and the loading is to begin *τῇ δευ[τέρῃ] τοῦ ἐ[ξ]ῆς μηνὸς Φαῶφι* (26–7).

22 Space favours *τρικαιδεκάτου* (A.D. 27) or *ἑπτακαιδεκάτου* (A.D. 31), but the traces are minimal, so that the safe date range is years 13 to 19, i.e. A.D. 27–33.

25 Before *ἐτήμον = ἐτοῖμον* alpha is virtually certain, and *-τημα* is easy to accept. This points to *πάκτων*

or *καφοπάκτων* as the type of the boat. The space would suit *τὸν καφοπάκτωνα* reasonably well, but this cannot readily be reconciled with the traces, though it might be right even so. The previous instances of *καφοπάκτων* are all of the third century A.D., XII 1554 7, XLIII 3111 2, and ZPE 20 (1976) 163 4, lines 6 and 25. The phonetic spelling in the last-mentioned text, *καποπάκτων*, does not help to fit this word to the traces.

In ZPE 20 (1976) 164 line 26 the lacuna should be filled with [*ετοῖμον*] rather than [*δημητρίω*], i.e. *τὸν καποπάκτωνα [ετοῖμον] πρὸς ἐμβολῆν*.

26–8 From this passage we may supply *κα[τὰ] ἀναλα]βόντες τὸν νεναυλωμένον* in ZPE 20 (1976) 27–8. 28 *ἐπίπλων*. Cf. Meyer-Termeeer, *op. cit.* 56, P. Oxy. Hels. 20, *Arctos* 12 (1978) 5–17. Though they have appeared before only in state contracts, see introd., it seems quite possible that a private contractor should supply a supercargo to represent his interests on board.

28–9 For *ἐατῶ*, *ἐατοῖς* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1, 187. The scribe has made an unsuccessful attempt to adapt his singular formula to the plural. For the sense expected cf. XLV 3250 21–2 *ἐαυτῶ παρεχόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀνάπλω καὶ κατάπλω τῆς καφῆς χορηγίαν πᾶσαν ἐντελῆ καὶ ναύτα ἱκανούς*, but the wording here was apparently not quite the same.

## 3485. LOAN OF MONEY

34 4B. 76/K (4–5)c + (7–9)a

13.8 × 36.5 cm.

23 August A.D. 38

A loan of 108 silver drachmas from Ischyron to Hermogenes and Hermias. A piece is missing from the middle of the document and what remains has been broken into several pieces, but the employment of standard formulas in these contracts means that most lines can be restored with confidence at least in their general sense.

The loan was drawn up in the standard form of a notarial contract, see P. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 88–9, and registered in the grapheion of Sinary.

On the loan in general see M. Gdz., 113–65, R. Taubenschlag, *Laws*<sup>2</sup>, 341–52, H.-A. Rupprecht, *Untersuchungen zum Darlehen*.

ἔτους δευτέρου Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,  
 Μεσορῆς τρι[ι]κασίας, ἐν κώμῃ Σιναρῶ τῆς κάττω το-  
 παρχίας τοῦ Ὁξυργγχείτου. ἐδάνειεν Ἱσχυρίω ἂν  
 Διονυσίου Ἑρμογένει Ἑρμογόνου τοῦ Δημη-  
 5 τρίου νεωτέρω [. . .] καὶ Ἑρμῖα Ζηνοδώρου νε-  
 ωτέρω ἀ[μ]φοτέροις Πέρσαις τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἐν  
 ἀγγιᾷ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ κ[αὶ] Π[α]τρ[ο]λεμαϊκοῦ νομί-  
 ματος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτ[ο]ῦ κεφαλαίου αἰς  
 οὐδὲν τῶ[ι] καθόλου προσ[ῆ]κτα. ἀποδότωσαν  
 10 δὲ οἱ δεδ[αν]εικμένοι τῶι Ἱσχυρίω τὰς τοῦ  
 ἀργυρίου [δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτῶ] τῇ τριακάδι  
 τοῦ Χοιάχ [τοῦ εἰσιώγτος τρίτῃ] ἔτους Γαίου  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 ἀποδώσῃ [καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀ]ποτεικάτωσαν



- 15 οἱ δεδαν[εισμένοι τῷ Ἰσχυρίωνι τὸ μὲν δά-  
νειον μ[εθ'] ἡμιολίας, τοὺς δὲ τόκους τοῦ ὑ-  
περπερό[υτος χρόνου τοὺς καθήκοντας, ἐγγύων  
ἀλλήλων εἰς ἕκτιαν ὄντων, τῆς πράξεως οὗτης τῷ  
Ἰσχυρίωνι ἐκ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ ἐξ οὐ  
20 ἐν αὐτῶν [αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς  
πάν[των καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, μὴ ἐλαττουμένω περι  
ᾧν [ἄλλων ὀφείλει Ἑρμίας ἢ Ἰσχυρίωνι ἢ τῇ γυ-  
ναικὶ αὐτοῦ κ[α]θ' ἑτέραν ἀσφάλειαν. κυρία  
ἢ συγγραφῆ. XXXXXX (vac.)
- 25 (m. 2) Ἑρμογένης Ἑρμογένους καὶ Ἑρμίας Ζηνοδώρου νεώτερος  
δεδανείμεθα τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ  
κεφαλαίου καὶ ἀποδώσωμεν δι' ἐγγύων ἀλλήλων  
καθότι πρόκειται. (m. 3) Ἑρμίας Ζηνοδώρου νεώτερος  
καὶ Ἑρμογένης νεώτερος δεδανείμεθα τὰς τῶν {αρ}  
30 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ὀκτώ κεφαλαίου καὶ  
ἀποδώσωμεν δι' ἐγγύων ἀλλ[ήλ]ων καθότι πρόκειται,  
κατὰ μηδὲν ἐλαττουμένου σοῦ ἐν οἷς ἄλλοις ὀφείλω  
κοι καθ' ἑτέραν ἀσφάλειαν. (m. 4) Ἰσχυρίων Διονυσίου  
35 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Μεσορήνι τριακάς.  
διὰ Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ πρὸς τῷ γραφίω κόμητι  
Κιναρῶν καὶ ἐτέρων τόπων κερημάτιζται.  
Back. (m. 1) ἔτους β' Γαίου Κ[α]ί[σ]αρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ,  
Μεσορή λ. (δραχμῶν) ρη. Ἰσχυρίωνος  
40 τοῦ Διονυσίου πρ[ὸς] Ἑρμογένην καὶ Ἑρμίαν.

2 l. Μεσορή, κάτω 11 l. ὀκτώ 24 l. συγγραφῆ 26 l. δεδανείμεθα, ὀκτώ 27 l. ἐγγύων  
30 l. ὀκτώ 31 l. ἐγγύων 32 σοῦ; ε corr. from μ 33 l. ἀσφάλειαν 34 l. δεδάνεικα  
35 l. Μεσορή 36 l. γραφεῖω 37 l. Κιναρῶ 40 ρ = πρ[ὸς]

'Second year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 30 Mesore, in the village of Sinary in the Lower Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite. Ischyryon son of Dionysius has loaned to Hermogenes junior, son of Hermogenes grandson of Demetrius, and to Hermias junior, son of Zenodorus, both Persians of the succession, in the street, 108 drachmas of silver of Imperial and Ptolemaic coinage as principal to which nothing at all has been added. Let the debtors pay back the 108 drachmas of silver to Ischyryon on the thirtieth of Choiach of [the coming third?] year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. If they do not pay it back [according to the contract], let the debtors pay back the loan [to Ischyryon with a penalty of one half and the interest] for the overtime [also at the same rate]; and let them be mutual [guarantors for recovery], Ischyryon [having right of execution against them together and singly and against

whichever one] of them [he chooses and against] all [their property as if in accordance with a legal judgment, the rights of Ischyryon being undiminished with respect to other debts which Hermias owes him or] his wife according to another pledge. The contract [is valid].'

(2nd hand) 'We, Hermogenes son of Hermogenes and Hermias minor, son of Zenodorus, have borrowed 108 drachmas of silver as principal and we shall pay it back as mutual guarantors, according to the above conditions.'

(3rd hand) 'We, Hermias minor, son of Zenodorus, and Hermogenes minor have borrowed 108 drachmas of silver as principal and we shall pay it back as mutual guarantors, according to the above conditions, with no diminution of your rights in respect of other debts which I owe you according to another pledge.'

(4th hand) 'I, Ischyryon, son of Dionysius, have made the loan according to the above conditions. Second year of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 30 Mesore. The loan has been transacted through Achilles, overseer of the grapheion of the village of Sinary and the other places.'

Back (1st hand) 'Year 2 of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Mesore 30; 108 dr. (Contract) of Ischyryon son of Dionysius with Hermogenes and Hermias.'

2 Μεσορή... κόμη... κάττω, cf. e.g. νεωτέρου (5). Iota adscript is written intermittently and sometimes added falsely. On ηι for η and ωι for ω see Maysner 11<sup>2</sup>, pp. 106-8, 112-14.

6-7 ἐν ἀργυῖ. The public notary who drew up the contract would have his 'office' and would carry out his business seated on the ground by the roadside, see A. Traversa, *SO* 37 (1961) 102, n. 4. The phrase also indicates that the loan money had been paid over before the notary as witness instead of being paid through a bank or from cash in hand (διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου) as in many private loans.

7-8 Σεβαστ[οῦ] ἢ [αἰ] Π[το]λ[ε]μ[α]ίου νομίσματος. Cf. P. Oslo inv. 1447 (ed. A. Traversa, *SO* 37 (1961) 109). At this period the adjectives refer respectively to the silver coinage of the Augustan period, issued on the Ptolemaic standard, and the billon tetradrachms of Tiberius, who resumed the minting of silver at Alexandria; see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 1-12. By the third century, however, the term 'Ptolemaic' seems to have lost much of its original meaning: XXXI 2587, introd., and M. Crawford's note to XLI 2951 24-5.

9 Supplement, cf. P. Mich. 1 32. 9-10; P. Yale 1 64. 10.

12 Supplement *exempli gratia*. Loans are found for varying periods of time, see Rupprecht, *Darlehen*, 21-2; 84, n. 55.

17-18 Cf. H. W. van Soest, *De civielrechtelijke 'Eγγύη*, 67-89; H.-A. Rupprecht, op. cit. 18; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>3</sup>, 303-7.

18-21 τῆς πράξεως κτλ: supplement, cf. P. Amh. 11 50. 24-5. On the πράξις clause, guaranteeing the creditor's right of execution, see H. J. Wolff, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 418-38; H.-A. Rupprecht, op. cit. 104-17; M. Gdx. 119-22.

21 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. A common provision in the πράξις clause, its meaning has been the matter of some dispute. H. J. Wolff, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 527-35, argues that its meaning should be 'according to customary and accepted legal procedure' rather than 'as if in accordance with a legal judgment'.

21-3 The mention of Ischyryon's wife at this late stage in the contract is unusual but the reading is secure.

22 Hermias' name is secured here by the fact that the μὴ ἐλαττουμένω clause is repeated only in his subscription (32-3), not in that of Hermogenes.

23-4 On this clause see M. Hässler, *Kyria-Klausel*, esp. ch. 1.

36-7 For the various types of notation used by public notaries see M. Gdx. 60-1, H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht*, 11 90-1. For an account of the grapheion at Tebtunis see P. Mich. 11 and v, Introductions; E. Husseleman in *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 223-38.

## 3486. ORDER FOR PAYMENT IN GRAIN

A B36/9 E

8 × 14.5 cm.

A.D. 41/42?

Order for the payment to an Alexandrian citizen of a quantity of grain from a private account, addressed to a sitologus. Cf. XXXI 2588–90, with the introd. to 2588–91. The back is blank.

Διογένης Θεαγένου Φιλώτα  
 [ς]ιτο[λ]όγωι χείρειν. διάστι-  
 λον ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου μετρή-  
 ματος γενήματος πρώτου  
 5 [ἔτου]ς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
 [{Κλ]αυδίου} Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 [Γ]ερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Ἀγτιόχῳ Θέωνος Ζηνίου  
 π[υ]ροῦ σύνπαντι ἀρτάβας  
 10 ἑκατὸν δέκα, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ρι.  
 [(ἔτους) β(?) Τ]ιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
 [Σεβας]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ  
 [Αὐτοκρ]άτορος[ο]ς, μηνὸς  
 [. . . .]φῦ ξ̄.

2–3 l. διάστειλον 8 l. Ζηνίῳ

‘Diogenes, son of Theagenes, to Philotas, sitologus, greetings. Transfer to Antiochus, son of Theon, of the Zenian deme, altogether one hundred and ten artabas of wheat (tot. art. of wheat 110), from the credit you hold for me from the produce of the first year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator.

‘The 2nd(?) year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, 5th of the month...’

3 ἀφ' οὗ. Cf. XXXI 2588 7, where φῦ should be corrected to οὗ (original examined by R. A. Coles).

3–4 ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου μετρήματος is an unusual expression in documents of this type. Presumably it simply means the grain paid in, i.e. credited, to Diogenes' account, and is thus effectively equivalent to the common formula ἀφ' οὗ ἔχεις μου ἐν θέματι πυροῦ. Note that the relative pronoun in that formula generally refers forward to πυροῦ (not so, however, with the plural version ἀφ' ὧν, e.g. XXXVIII 2869 3–4 ἀφ' ὧν ἔχειτέ μου ἐν θέμα(τι) πυροῦ), where ὧν is clearly read and the relative must be otherwise explained: presumably sc. ἀρταβῶν), but that this cannot be the case here with πυροῦ in 9. For πυροῦ in that position cf. XXXI 2588 12, but there its function is redundant whereas here it is (apart from the γίνονται-phrase in 10) the only specification of the grain-type in the text.

8 Ἀγτιόχῳ Θέωνος Ζηνίου. Cf. II 261 5–6, Θεωνο[ς] τοῦ Ἀγτιόχου Ἀλέξανδροῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἀγνίου, where Ἀγνίου is a misreading for Ζηνίου. 261 is dated A.D. 55 and it may be the same Antiochus, recorded there as Theon's father, who is himself active in the present earlier document. For the designation of Alexandrian citizens by their demotic see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, p. 43.

11 (ἔτους) β. It is obviously attractive, but equally not compelling, that the harvest from the produce of which the payment is made should be the most recent one. (ἔτους) α cannot be excluded.

14 The reading λϰϰ, if correct, indicates that the month-name was a Roman one.

## 3487. RECEIPT FOR PART-REPAYMENT OF LOAN

37 4B. 111/O (1)a

13.7 × 35.9 cm.

1 October A.D. 65

Tausoreus acknowledges repayment of part of the money which she had lent her husband nearly two years before. The receipt is a cheirograph, with the bank-transfer of the money noted at the end; for this form (early and Oxyrhynchite) cf. XIV 1639 (73 B.C.? 44 B.C.?), various documents of the Archive of Tryphon (A.D. 20–57: H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. griechischen Papyri* II 97 and n. 76; M. V. Biscottini, *Aeg.* 46 (1966) 60 seqq., nos. 6, 11, 12, 16, 30, 31, 34), and P. Turner 17. The original loan, which took the same form (12), must have resembled the document in which Tryphon acknowledges a loan from his wife, II 267 = M. Chr. 281. There the loan stood in some relation to the ἀγραφὸς γάμος between the two parties (267 18 seq.); what exact relation is not clear (Wolff, *Marriages in Hellenistic and Roman Law* 69–72; Biscottini, loc. cit. 200). In 3487 also the parties are married ἀγράφως (3, 22 nn.); but the wording gives no hint that the loan was part or condition of the marriage.

The back is blank.

: 5

Ταυσορεῦς Πανεμγέως τῶν ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)  
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ προσήκοντ[ο]ς αὐτῆ [Κ]εφαλᾶτος  
 τοῦ Κεφαλᾶτος τῶι συνόντι μοι κατὰ [ν]όμον  
 5 ἀνδρὶ Καραπίωνι Πτολεμαίου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως χείρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἀπέχειν  
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεϊ Καρα-  
 πείου διὰ τῆς Διογενίου, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τιμῶν Φαύ-  
 στου, κα[ὶ] τῶν μετόχων [τρ]απέζης ἀργυρίου  
 10 Σεβαστοῦ νομίματος [δραχ]μὰς τριάκοντα  
 δύο κεφαλαίου αἰ εἰς ἀπ[ὸ] ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν  
 ἑβδομήκοντα δύο κεφαλαίου ὧν ἐδάξει-  
 κα σοι κατὰ χειρόγραφον καὶ διαγραφῆν διὰ  
 τῆς ευστάτης ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καραπίου Ἀπίωνο(ς)  
 15 τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου τοῦ συνεχταμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 προγεγραμμένου Διονυσίου τραπέζης τῶι  
 Νερωνίῳ Σεβαστῶι μηνὶ τοῦ δεκάτου  
 ἔτους Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ

Γερμανικῷ Αὐτοκράτορος, μὴ ἔλαττουμέ-  
 20 νης μου ἐν τῇ πράξει τῶν λοιπῶν δραχμῶν  
 τεσσεράκοντα κεφαλαίου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 νῦν τούτων τόκων ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶι δικαί-  
 ωι ἧς ὀφείλεις μοι τῆς συμβιώσεως συγγρα-  
 φῆς, κυρίας οὐσης ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δι' αὐτῆς δε-  
 25 δηλωμένοις. κυρία ἢ χεῖρ. ἔτους δωδεκάτου  
 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Κα[ίσα]ρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 Γερμανικῷ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ.  
 (m. 2) Ταυσορεῦς Πανεμγέως ἀπέχω τὰς  
 τοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο κεφαλ(αίου)  
 30 ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο,  
 μὴ ἔλατ[τ]ομένης μου ἐν τῇ πράξει τῶν  
 λοιπῶν δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐν τῶ  
 δικαίω ἧς ὀφείλεις μοι συγγραφῆς ὡς πρόκει(ται).  
 Ζωῖλος Ὁρου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδύιας  
 35 γράμματα. ἔτους δωδεκάτου Νέρωνος  
 Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικῷ  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ. (m. 3) Κεφαλᾶς ἐ-  
 πινέγραμμαι κύριος. (m. 4) ἔτους δω-  
 δεκάτου Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ  
 40 Γερμανικῷ Αὐτοκράτορος Φαῶφι δ, διὰ τῆς Φαύζετου  
 καὶ τῶν μετόχων τραπέζης γέγονε ἡ διαγραφῆ.

2 πρ<sup>λ</sup> 6 l. ὁμολογῶ 14 ἠπιων<sup>ο</sup> 20 l. πράξει 21 l. τεσσαράκοντα 23 l. ὀφείλεις  
 29 κεφᾶ 33 συ согг., προκεί 34 l. εἰδύιας 37 final ε согг. from φ

'Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, one of those from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with her kinsman Cephalas son of Cephalas as guardian, to Sarapion son of Ptolemaeus, who lives with me as husband according to the laws, one of those from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have back from you, at the Serapeum by the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through the bank of Dionysius, sometimes called 'of Faustus', and partners, a capital sum of thirty-two drachmas of silver in imperial coinage, which are part of the capital sum of seventy-two drachmas of silver which I lent to you by a cheirograph and a bank-transfer through the bank of Apion son of Andromachus the representative of the aforementioned Dionysius, which is established at the same Serapeum, in the month Neroneus Augustus of the tenth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator: without detriment to my interests in the exaction of the remaining capital sum of forty drachmas and the interest on these from this point and also in my rights under the contract of marriage which you owe me, which is normative in all the points set out in it. This note of hand is normative. Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, have back the capital sum of thirty-two drachmas of silver out of the seventy-two drachmas of silver, without detriment to my interests in the exaction

of the remaining forty drachmas and in my rights under the contract which you owe me as aforesaid. I, Zoilus son of Horus, wrote for her since she is illiterate. Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Cephalas, have been appointed her guardian.'

(4th hand) 'Twelfth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Phaophi 4. The bank-transfer has been made through the bank of Faustus and partners.'

1 Before the stigma = 6 there are two heavily inked dots in a colon pattern. The meaning of the annotation is unknown. It is not clear whether it is written in yet another hand, which would be the fifth. The ink does not vary noticeably with the hands. Cf. P. Turner 17. 1, which has ζ = 7.

2 Ταυσορεῦς. Another Tausoreus daughter of Panemgeus, presumably a relation, appears in PSI VIII 874.6 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 132/3); this is the only example of the name in *NB* and *Onomasticon*.

3 [Κ]εφαλᾶτος: all letters vestigial, except the characteristic high riser of the phi. The name is guaranteed by 37. Tausoreus' husband would naturally act as her guardian; but he is excluded as an interested party (Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 174).

It has also been argued that the husband did not become the wife's guardian if, as in this case, the marriage was *ἀγραφος*. But the documents cited, which all concern entry to the Alexandrian ephebate, are too specialized to prove a general rule. See H. J. Wolff, *Marriages in Hellenistic and Roman Law*, 29.

4 κατὰ [ῥ]όμον. Cf. P. Grenf. I 21 = M. Chr. 302 (126 B.C.), P. Cairo inv. 10388. 5 in *APF* I (1901) 64 (123 B.C.), BGU VIII 1820. 5 (56/5 B.C.), BGU I 232. 2 (A.D. 108). The last text has τῇ προούσῃ κ[αὶ συν]λοῦσῃ αὐτῶ κατὰ νόμον γυναικί; since the first part of this phrase regularly describes the wife of an 'unwritten' marriage (e.g. P. Strasb. 237, P. Mil. Vogl. II 71), and since the authority cited is 'law' and not 'contract', it has been deduced that κατὰ νόμον effectively means *ἀγράφως* (Wolff, loc. cit. 67); the question remains whether this is simply a pious gesture or a reference to some definite law or laws. It is likely enough that Tausoreus and Sarapion have an *ἀγραφος γάμος*, see 23 n.

8 Διονυσίου. This banker is not listed by Calderini, *Aeg.* 18 (1938) 260 seqq., or in the indexes of later volumes of P. Oxy.

8-9 ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῆσιν Φαύζετου. Cf. BGU I 55 ii 1 (as corrected *ibid.* p. 354) 'Αφροδίτης, ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀφροδίτιδος, 'Aphrodite, called by some Aphroditus'. This is the interpretation of F. Preisigke in *WB* s.v. ἐπὶ (1), 'Aphrodite, von einigen auch Aphroditus genannt'. It is perhaps near enough right, since in that case the question is one of a variation of the same name. Here it seems more likely that there is a question of different identity. Otherwise τοῦ καὶ would have been enough. Perhaps Faustus was the current representative of the principal figure Dionysius, like the Apion son of Andromachus who appears in 14-15 as a former representative of Dionysius. Perhaps ἐπὶ τῶν means rather 'on some occasions, in some cases, in some circumstances', cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ A. III. 3, i.e. the bank might be known by the name of the principal, Dionysius, or by that of his current representative. Sir Eric Turner has pointed out that this solves the difficulty in P. Turner 17. 8, where for *αὐδεντις* [I read now ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν].

The comma may belong more properly after μετόχων, i.e. 'bank of D., or of F and partners', rather than, 'bank of D., or of F., and partners'.

17-19 28 Nov./27 Dec. A.D. 63.

23 ὀφείλεις (l. ὀφείλεις). If he 'owes' her a contract, the contract is in the future. This would fit the regular pattern, in which an 'unwritten' marriage is, after a time, converted into a 'written' marriage by the drawing up of a formal contract (Wolff, loc. cit. 58; e.g. PSI XII 1223. 10). P. Lund VI 3 (SB VI 9353) shows that the husband might bind himself to make such a contract in the future, as part of preliminary financial arrangements (receipt of dowry, presumably) with the bride's family (G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 163); the contract itself, as the examples make clear, would be largely concerned with adjusting the financial claims of husband and wife on one another (and so Tausoreus specifies that the present settlement will not affect her future claims). None the less, the phrase is odd, especially since οὐσης might imply that the contract already exists.

34 The same man acts as amanuensis in II 269 17 (A.D. 57).

37-8 Cephalas signs in the spindly capitals typical of the *βραδέως γράφων*, see most recently *ZPE* 40 (1980) 157-9.

## 3488. LEASE OF LAND

26 3 B. 51/B (1-2) a

10 × 27.5 cm.

A.D. 70

It is especially for comparison with 3489, a lease of only two years later also relating to land in the Oxyrhynchite nome leased to a villager of the Cynopolite for a two-year period, that this item has been included.

There are two parcels of land in 3488, which makes the arrangements for rent and rotation of crops seem complicated, but the main evidence of the two documents can be set out fairly clearly in a table, see below. Amounts in brackets are calculated from the other data on the same line. All these rents are in wheat.

Year	Area	Total rent	Crop	Rent per arura
70/1	10 ar.	7.5 art.	Aracus	(0.75 art.)
	5.125 ar.	20 art.	Wheat	(c. 3.90 art.)
71/2	10 ar.	55 art.	Wheat	(5.5 art.)
	5.125 ar.	10 art.	Aracus	(c. 1.95 art.)
72/3	5 ar.	(11.25 art.)	Aracus	2.25 art.
73/4	5 ar.	(35 art.)	Wheat	7 art.

Elements that cannot be incorporated in the table are the extra rent of  $\frac{3}{8}$  art. of loaves in 3489 and the loan of 10 art. of seed wheat returnable with the rents of the second year in 3488. They seem to do nothing to give regularity to the figures. It is particularly clear from 3488 that the most important factor was the character of the land, and that the calculation of average rents from a comparatively small number of published leases is of use only to paint a very broad picture. I am indebted for discussion of this topic to Jane Rowlandson, whose Oxford D. Phil. thesis on land tenure in the Oxyrhynchite nome will shortly be available.

On the back are traces of ink which may be remains of an endorsement. Nothing is now legible.

This text was studied at a summer school in papyrology held in Princeton in 1966 and much work was done on it by Dr S. S. Foulk, to whom I am indebted for a draft edition.

ἑμίς[θωσεν] Διονύσιος ὄς καὶ Πετερίρι  
 Καρφ[. . . .] τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλε-  
 ως .[. . . .], ἰ Φιλίσκου τῶν ἀπὸ Πε-  
 .ξ.[. . . .] τῶν τοῦ Κυνοπολείτου Πέρ-  
 5 σῆ τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς ἕτη δύο βροχᾶς  
 δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνο[σ]τάτος τρίτου ἔτους  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ  
 Σεβα[σ]τοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ περι

Θμ[οιθ]ῶθ[ι]ν τῆς ἄνο τοπαρχείας  
 10 ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Πιθολάου κλήρου ἀρού-  
 ρας δέκα ὥστε ἐν [μ]ὲν τῷ ἐνοστώτι  
 ἕτ[ι] ξυλαμῆσαι ταύτας ἀράκω ἐκ-  
 φορίου [ἀ]πτοάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν  
 ἑπτὰ ἡμίους, ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰσιόντι  
 15 ἕτ[ι] [ε]πίρε πυρῶ ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ  
 ἀ[ρ]ταβ[ῶ]ν πενήκοντα πέντε καὶ  
 . . . .] . . . κλήρου ἄλλας ἀρού-  
 ρ[α]ς π[ε]ντε ὄγδων, τῷ μὲν ἐνεσ-  
 τῶτι ἔτι σπῖρε ταύτας πυρῶ ἐκφο-  
 20 ρίου ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν  
 εἴκοσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτι ξυλα-  
 μῆσαι ἀράκω ἀποτάκτου πυροῦ  
 ἀρταβ[ῶ]ν δέκα. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ὁ με-  
 μισθωμένος ἔχει ἂν' παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου  
 25 σπερμάτων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δέκα,  
 ὅς ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ἅμα τοῖς τοῦ εἰσι-  
 ὄντος ἔτους ἐκφορίου, τῆς κατ' ἄτος  
 ἀπεργασίας τῶν χωμάτων τῶν  
 δέκα ἀρουρῶν καὶ τηρήσεως ὄντων  
 30 πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον, ὅς καὶ  
 παραδώσει ταῦτα ἀπηγρασμένα  
 καὶ ὑγιῆ[ι] τῷ εἰσιόντι ἔτι ἑὶ ἀποτί-  
 νη αὐτὸν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τὰς ἐς-  
 ταμένα ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς  
 35 ὄγδοῆκοντα. ἀκίνδυνα δὲ πάντα  
 παντὸς κινδ[ύ]νου, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς  
 δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον,  
 ὃν ἂν [αἰ] κυριεύει τῶν κατ' ἄτες καρπῶν  
 <ἔ>ως {ε}ὰν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομ[ί]σῃ. τῆς δὲ  
 40 μισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης ἀπο-  
 δῶτω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῷ Διονυσίῳ  
 τὰ κατ' ἕτ[ο]ς ἐκφόρια ἐἶ τῷ Παν-  
 νί μηνεῖ, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς τοῦ εἰσιόν-



9 September A.D. 162	XLI 2974
A.D. 172/3	III 593 descr. (ed. T. T. Renner, <i>BASP</i> 7 (1970) 23 7)
Second century	P. Palau Rib. inv. 150 ( <i>Stud. Pap.</i> 15 (1976) 126)
25 October A.D. 205	SB x 10263
A.D. 250	XXXVI 2795
A.D. 259/60	P. Wisc. 1 7
A.D. 282	P. Mich. XI 610
Third/fourth century	SB x 10216

The back of the lease carries the name of the landowner, who is the wife of the lessor, and of the lessee, written along the fibres.

ἐμίσθωσεν Θέων Θέωνος τοῦ Θέωνος τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Ὁξυρρύγχων πόλεως Ἰόλλα Πνεφερώτος  
 τοῦ Ἰόλλου τῶν ἀπὸ κῶ[μ]ης Περετνούεως  
 τοῦ [Κ]υνοπολείτου Πέρση τῆς ἐπιγονῆς εἰς  
 5 ξ[τ]η δύο βροχὰς δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 πέμπτου ἔτους Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας τῇ  
 γυ[ν]αμικὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλωνοῦτι Σαραπίω-  
 νος περὶ Θμοιθῶθιν τῆς ἄνω τοπαρχίας  
 10 ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ἐν[έ]α ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρου[ς]  
 ἀρούρα[ς] π[έν]τε ὥστε ταύτ[α]ς τῶ μὲν ἐνεστῶ-  
 τι ἔτει ξυλαμῆσαι ἀρά[κω], ἐκφορίου ἐκάστης  
 ἀρουρῆς ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτ[άβ]α[ς] δύο τέταρτον,  
 τῶ δὲ εἰσιόντι ἔτει σφ[ί]ραι[ι] πυρῶ, ἐκφορίου  
 15 ἐκάστης ἀρούρης ἀ[ν]ὰ πυροῦ ἡ [ἀ]ρτάβας ἑπτά.  
 δῶς δὲ ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῶ Θέωνι κατ' ἔτος  
 ἄρτων ἄ[ρ]τάβης τέταρτον ὄγδοον, τῆς κα-  
 τ' ἔτος ὕδροφυλακίας οὐσης τῶν ἀρουρῶν  
 πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον, ἀκί[δ]ινα τὰ κα-  
 20 τ' ἔτος ἐκ[φ]όρια παντὸς κινδύνου. ἐὰν δὲ τι  
 τῶ εἰσιόντι ἔτει ἄβροχος γένηται, παραδε-  
 χθήσεται τῶ μεμισθωμένῳ τὸ ταύτης  
 ἐκφόριον· ἐὰν δὲ τι πραχθῇ ὁ μεμισθωμέ-  
 νος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἢ εἰς ἄλλο τι ὑπὲρ Θέω-  
 25 νος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τῆς γῆς, ὑπολογεῖται ἀπὸ

τῶν ἐκφορίων, τῶν [δ]ὲ κατ' ἔτος καρπῶν  
 κυριευέτω Θέων ἕως τὰ ἐκφόρια κομίσεται.  
 τῆς δὲ μεμισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης, ἀποδότη  
 ὁ μεμισθωμένος τῶ Θέωνι τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἐκ-  
 30 φόρια ἀεὶ τῶ Παῦνι μῆνι ἐφ' ἄλλω περὶ τὸ Ἀρχι-  
 βίου ἐποίκιον πυρὸν νέον, καθαρὸν, ἄδολον,  
 . . . . .ον, μέτρῳ τετρ[α]χ[ο]νικῶ Σαραπίωνος . .  
 . . . . .[. . . . .] . . . . ., ἀποτεισάτω αὐτῶ ἐκά-

Back, upwards:

ε (ἔτους) μίς(θωσις) Ἀπολλωνοῦ(τος) πρ(ός?) Ἰόλλαν

'Theon, son of Theon, grandson of Theon, from the city of the Oxyrhynchis, has leased to Iollas, son of Pnepheros, grandson of Iollas, from the village of Peretnui in the Cynopolite nome, a Persian of the succession, for two years, two inundations, from the present fifth year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus the five aruras belonging to his wife Apollonous, daughter of Sarapion, near Thmothothis in the Upper toparchy, from the nine aruras in the northern sector, to plant these in the present year with aracus at a rent of 2½ artabas of wheat per arura, and in the coming year to sow them with wheat at a rent of 7 artabas of wheat per arura. The lessee will give to Theon annually three-eighths of an artaba of bread. The annual rents to be free from every risk, the annual water-guarding of the aruras being the responsibility of the lessee. If there is any land unflooded in the coming year the rent of this will be credited to the lessee. If the lessee is required to pay anything towards the public charges or towards anything else on behalf of Theon or his wife or the land, let him deduct it from the rents, and let Theon be owner of the annual crops until he receives the rents. The lease being guaranteed, let the lessee pay the annual rents to Theon every year in the month of Payni at the threshing floor at the steading of Archibius in wheat that is new, clean, unadulterated, and . . . , by the four-choenix measure of Sarapion. . . let him pay over to him for each [artaba . . . ]

'5th year; lease of Apollonous to Iollas.'

1 A Theon son of Theon is also the lessor in P. Strasb. IV 1/2 534, but the name is so common that it would be unwise to identify them.

3 Περετνούεως. This village name has appeared before but has been surrounded by difficulties which have kept it out of the lexica. In CPR VII 52, a business letter containing many difficulties of reading and interpretation, one clause appears to read (5-6, from the plate, Taf. 37) ἐπὶ οἱ Περετνούεωι λυπῶν τὰ[ς] ἀγκάλας ἡμῶν (read ἐπεί, λυποῦν, ἀγκάλας), 'since the inhabitants of Peretnui are damaging our sheaves'. Oxyrhynchus seems a more likely provenance for this text than anywhere in the Cynopolite nome. A photograph of VIII 1052 26 allows the possibility of reading Περετνούεως in place of Περεινούεως. Surprisingly a photograph of P. Hamb. I 17 shows that the reading of the first edition Περετνούεως in ii 4 (cf. 14: restored) is fully justified. That document comes from the Arsinoite nome and we may perhaps guess that the scribe who wrote it was not familiar with the Cynopolite village name. The place called Φερετνούσις (XVI 1937 7) is probably the same, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 91-2. In MPER 6 (1897) 98 and *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 31 (1978) 353 Φερε(νούσις) should probably be corrected to Φερετνούσις. Cf. also 3488 3-4 n.

7-8 The property belongs to Apollonous but is leased out on her behalf by her husband acting as her replacement, cf. XXXVI 2776, *Stud. Pap.* 15 (1976) 126-9, see L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung*, 173-85, 249-55; cf. P. Wisc. I 7, in which a father leases his daughter's property without its being specified whether he is acting as guardian or deputy.

8 Ἀπολλωνοῦτι. The last two letters have been added on a much larger scale in a space at first left

blank which would have taken about five normal letters. Probably there was some doubt about the wife's name in the mind of the clerk.

9 *Θμοιθάβιν*. Otherwise new, it is probably to be read also in 3488 9 (*Θμ[οιθ]ῶθ[ι]ν*, see note). In IV 794 (description) a photograph shows that *Θμ[οι]θάβιν* (20-21) is a possibility.

13 The rent charged here on the crop of aracus, 2½ artabas of wheat per arura, is slightly more than the usual rent for land under a fallow crop: 2 artabas in PSI IX 1029; XVIII 2188, XXII 2351. However, the rent for the following year, when the land will be under wheat, is slightly less than the average for this period, which is 7½ artabas per arura: A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 81.

17 ἄρτω. The crossbar and part of the vertical of tau are clear, as is the top part of the omega. The payment of a small bonus, either as a religious offering (*θάλλος*) or as a gratuity to the landlord (*σπονδή*), is provided for in several leases, see *Symb. Oslo*. 17 (1937) 26-48, Herrmann, op. cit. 115-18; cf. *Studi E. Volterra* III, 135-42. The small amount mentioned here (⅓ of an artaba) suggests that this is something of the same sort, though not designated as such. For payments of this kind cf. P. Ryl. II 167. 17-18, SB X 10535. 12, and XIV 1744, in which, most unusually, the rents are calculated in terms of loaves. Thirty loaves were reckoned the usual equivalent of an artaba of wheat, see XII 1454 6 n.

20-6 For clauses giving a degree of security to the lessee see Herrmann, op. cit. 161-3. A list of Oxyrhynchite leases with the ἄβροχος clause is given in *BASP* 7 (1970) 24 n. 5.

30-1 The steading of Archibius is listed as being in the Upper toparchy in X 1285 64.

32 . . . ],*ov*. We expect ἄβαλον or ἀκριθον, cf. Herrmann, op. cit. 105-6, Hennig, op. cit. 11-12. The trace looks most like the top half of a vertical, which suits neither. Perhaps ἄβαλων was written, with an unusually upright lambda.

On private measures see Herrmann, op. cit. 103-5, Hennig, op. cit. 13-21. This Sarapion is perhaps to be identified with the lessor's father-in-law, see 8.

33 ] . . . [. The second of these traces is part of a rounded letter, possibly omicron, the third the top of a vertical.

ἀ]ποτείστω κτλ. This is part of a penalty clause in case of failure to pay the rent in full. Cf. Herrmann, op. cit. 145-7. Restore e.g. ἢ ἀ]ποτείσάτω αὐτῷ ἐκφ[ι]στη ἀρτάβης ἢς ἀν μὴ ἀποδῶ, followed by a price.

34 The symbol interpreted as *μῆς(θωσις?)* is a cross with a sigma in the right-hand upper quadrant. The horizontal is taken to be a vestigial mu and the upright an iota. The symbol interpreted as *πρ(ῆς?)* is a cross with the top of the upright drooping over to the right. The horizontal is taken to be vestigial pi and the upright with the drooping head to be a version of rho.

## 3490. LOAN OF MONEY

22 3B. 14/G (7-10)d

8.2 × 8.7 cm.

A.D. 140/1

This fragment of a loan contract, in which no interest was stipulated, follows in all essentials the formula of XLVII 3351, a document more than one hundred years older. See 3351 introd. for bibliography and a short description of the type. The back is blank.

Ἄμοις Πομπηί[ο]υ τοῦ Πομπηίου [μητρὸς  
Ἄρσειτος Διο. . . ]ς ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων [πόλεως  
Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγ[ονῆς] Θέωνι Θέωνος τοῦ  
Πανεχῶτου μη[τρὸς] Ἀπίας ἀπὸ τῆ[ς αὐτῆς  
5 π]όλεως χαίρειν. [ὀμολ]ογῶ ἔχειν πα[ρὰ σοῦ  
διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀ[ργυ]ρίου Σεβαστοῦ [νομίς]-  
ματος δραχμὰς διακοσίας, γέινονται δραχμαί

διακόσιαι, κεφαλ[αί]ου αἴς οὐδὲν προσ[ήκται,  
ἀς καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι τῇ τριακάδ[ι] τοῦ . . . . .  
10 τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τ]ος [τ]ετάρτου ἔτους Ἀντω[νίνου]  
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου) χωρὶς ὑπερθέσει[ω]. ἐὰν δὲ  
μὴ [ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται, τὸ] μὲν προ[κρί]μενον

1 πομπηί[ο]υ, πομπηίου 7 1. γίνονται 11 ὑπερθέσει[ω]

'Amois son of Pompeius grandson of Pompeius, mother Harseis daughter of Dio. . . , of Oxyrhynchus, Persian of the succession, to Theon son of Theon grandson of Panechotes, mother Apia, of the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you by hand from your house in imperial silver coin the capital sum of two hundred drachmas, total two hundred drachmas, to which sum nothing has been added, which I shall also repay you on the thirtieth of . . . of the present fourth year of Antoninus Caesar the lord without delay. If I do not repay in accordance with the contract, I shall pay to you the aforementioned (capital) . . .'

3 ἐπιγ[ονῆς]. The pi is not clearly written. There are remains above it and the following iota which could be from a formal pi replacing the unsatisfactory one below.

9 The initial letter of the last month name was rounded. Only Choeac and Tybi are certainly excluded, though mu for Mecheir and Mesore is not very likely. All we can say about the terms of the loan is that it was for less than one year, see 10.

## 3491. MARRIAGE CONTRACT

45 5B. 58/J (6)a

Fr. 1 40 × 18 cm.

A.D. 157/8

The document is written on the back of a now very fragmentary account of land and grain, but along the fibres so that the two texts run at right angles to each other. A sheet join which runs horizontally between lines 13 and 14 here proves that the other side was the interior of the roll, which was a tall one 40 cm. in height. There is also a sheet join in fr. 4, which shows part of the lower edge with a blank margin of c. 7 cm., and a short last line which appears to give the end of the text. It is not possible to estimate how much is lost between fr. 4 and fr. 1.

Of the ten lines of which the beginnings are preserved at least seven are preceded in the left margin by a check mark in the form of a large clumsily made dot. Presumably the terms of the agreement and the figures were carefully checked. At first sight our document looks as if it were written by two different scribes, and the writing certainly changes towards the end of line 5. It looks as if the broad pen point with which the first section was written began to give trouble here, whereupon the scribe sharpened the pen or changed it for one with a thinner point and at the same time abandoned the first style of writing, which is comparatively formal, for a more rapid and comfortable style. This careless copy of the document may be a draft, see the additions in lines 6, 13 and 15, or perhaps only a rough copy of the definitive version.

In the document, which according to 4 is a *διὰ δημοσίου συγγραφή*, Chaeremonis





τρέψει(ως) μηδὲ ἀπο(υ)σίας ἐνλογουμ(ένης), ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 ἱματίων [ c. 20  
 20 [. . . . .] (ταλαντ- ) α [[ενη]] (δραχμ- ) ἄ ἐν ἡμέραις ξ̄ ε. [. . .] . . . . .  
 περι [. . .] . . . . .] (vac.) [  
 [. . . . .] . . . . .] [ωσταθ( ) . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] γαμ( ) . λ( ) . . . . .] . . . . .]  
 [τὰ παρ]άφερνα ὡς ἐπάνω δεδ[ήλωται  
 [. . . . .] . . . . .] γαμου. [  
 . . . . .

Fr. 2

. . . . .  
 25 ] φερνήν  
 ] . . ἱμάτια καὶ χρ(υ)τᾶ cὺν τῇ ἐξομ(ένῃ)  
 ] . . . . . η γαμο( ) απο( ) λ. . . . .  
 ] . . . . . τ( ) ἀποδότη ὁ γαμ(ών) τῇ  
 ] ἐξ̄ ἀλλήλ(ων) τέκνοια  
 . . . . .

Fr. 3

. . . . .  
 30 ], (ἀρουρ- ?) . . (v.) . . . . .  
 ]. Παώμει . . . (δραχμ- ?) 'καὶ αι. [ . . . . . ]  
 ]. αν μετὰ τὴν (vac.) [  
 . . . . .

Fr. 4

. . . . .  
 [. . .] . . .  
 π]αρθαλημψ. [  
 35 ] . . . . . κ. . . . . η[  
 ] . . αυτη η τὰ τέκνα δια. [  
 ] . εἰν ἡ γαμο(υμένη) τὰ τέκν[α  
 ] γομ( ) αὐτῆς πάντα (vac.) [  
 . . . . .

1 ηρακλειδ[ε]ῖς ζεωτ, ηρακλειδ μητ ταοννοφρι<sup>ο</sup>, γ, αρποκρατι<sup>ω</sup>, ηρακλειδ μητ, ἀμφοτ 2 οξ̄ πο<sup>λ</sup>, εαυτ<sup>ο</sup> ανδ  
 ηρακλειδ, ἀμφοτ θυγυς χαμη[μω]ν[ε]ῖς, χρησιμ<sup>ο</sup> 3 αποτ̄ ᾱ πο<sup>λ</sup>, ιερα<sup>κ</sup> ας; 1. συγγραφῆν; ιβλ. 4 ἀλλῆλ,  
 ἀρκομίνοιο corr. from -ου; 1. συγγραφῆν 5 γ, εσχ<sup>η</sup> [?], συνελε, πατ̄ ηρακλειδ, αργ, χειροπέλο, 1. χειροπέλλιοιο  
 6 ἀμφοτ χρ, οξ̄; 1. συντιμήσει; συντέ; 1. συντιμήσει; 1. γίνονται; α, φ<sup>ε</sup> κεφα 7 διου, χρ̄ ξε, χρωματ, ενεργ  
 ολ, αφροδ, διπτυ<sup>κ</sup> 8 μνηροθη<sup>κ</sup>, ] .<sup>ε</sup>, ] . . αρτ, γενδ, γαμδ, αλλῆ 9 διου, οιδά, γαμδ, ηρακλειδ, διου;  
 1. προσμερίζουσι; εἰ, θυγυς 10 επεσβ̄ ᾱ, γαμουστ, ηρακ, υπαρχδ̄ ᾱ 11 κλῆ, βακχδ, μητ̄ διου, υπαρχδ̄  
 12 γαμ, συνεστ, γαμδ, προσετ, ενεστ̄ καλ 13 ] τη γαμοθ̄, πατ, ενοι<sup>κ</sup>, μεριε<sup>δ</sup>, μητ, προσ. . . . . ᾱ πο<sup>κ</sup>,  
 αργ, γαμδ 14 υπ]οτιθεσ<sup>δ</sup>, ουδαλ, αφαιρεσι<sup>δ</sup>, καρπ<sup>ε</sup>, ενοι<sup>κ</sup> 15 συνγρσ; 1. συγγρ(αφή)ς, ᾱ οξ̄ πο<sup>λ</sup>, ἀμφοδ,  
 παρεμβδ, αυ 16 υδρε, εποι<sup>κ</sup> 17 ευδοκ<sup>η</sup>, γαμδ, αλλῆ, γαμουστ, γ[ε] 18 δυνο<sup>α</sup>, αλλῆ, γαμουστ, ουτ,  
 ἀλλῆ, γαμ<sup>ε</sup> 19 παραχρ<sup>η</sup>, τρεψ<sup>ε</sup>; 1. τρέψει(ως); αποτ̄ ενλογοθ̄ 20 ἄ corr. from ω 21 στα<sup>δ</sup>  
 22 γα<sup>μ</sup> . . .<sup>λ</sup> 26 χρ, εσδ̄ 27 γαμδ̄ απο 28 ] . . . . . τ, γα<sup>μ</sup> 29 ἀλλῆ 37 γαμδ̄ 38 ] γδ̄

'Heracleides son of Seos grandson of Heracleides, his mother being Taonnophis, and his wife  
 Dionysia daughter of Harpocration granddaughter of Heracleides, her mother being Massalina, both  
 from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Dionysia having with her as guardian her husband Heracleides, have  
 given their daughter by each other, Chaeremonis, as wedded wife to Dionysapolodorus son of Dionysius  
 alias Chrestimus grandson of Dionysius, from the same city, his mother being . . . , an Alexandrian,  
 daughter of Apollonius granddaughter of Hierax, with whom she (Chaeremonis) has been living  
 previously in accordance with a handwritten contract concluded in the twelfth year of Antoninus Caesar  
 the lord, which contract they have given up to each other for cancellation contenting themselves with  
 this public contract, executed in the street. With her the bridegroom has received at the time of their  
 coming together, first, from the father Heracleides as dowry, one talent of money and an armet and  
 a . . . , both of gold, of two mnacia by the Oxyrhynchite standard, valued at six hundred drachmas, and  
 clothing valued at three hundred drachmas, as principal, to which no addition has been made, and second,  
 from the mother Dionysia as paraphernalia, a pair of golden ear-rings of one quarter of a mnaeion, a  
 dyed cloak, fifteen minas by weight of wrought tin, a statuette of Aphrodite, a jar, an inlaid(?) mirror  
 of two leaves, chair(s?) . . . , a wooden unguent-box, . . . , . . . women's chairs. . . the children born to the  
 couple by each other Athen. . . and Dion. . . and . . . and . . .

After their death the said parents of the bride, Heracleides and Dionysia, apportion to their daughter  
 Chaeremonis, if she is alive, if she is not, to her existing and future children by the groom, first, from  
 the father Heracleides, the (so many) aruras that belong to him at Senepsay of the allotment of  
 Dionysodorus . . . , and at Netro the one-and-a-half aruras of the allotment of Philon and the seven-  
 eighths of an arura of the allotment of Bacchyl( ) and Carabus, second, from the mother of Dionysia, the  
 (house) which she owns in the village(?) of . . . The bridegroom shall have, as long as he lives with the  
 bride, as he had before, for their common livelihood, also from the present twenty-first year, the use  
 of the five-and-one-eighth aruras. . . (apportioned) to the bride by her father Heracleides, and the right  
 of occupation and the rent of the house apportioned to her by her mother and of the light-well, and  
 the . . . interest. . . to the amount of . . . drachmas of money, the couple having no power to mortgage or  
 apportion to others or in any way dispose of the property which the parents have allotted in the aforesaid  
 manner, or to appropriate the use or the right of occupation or the rent.

(He/she/they also give(s) through the present(?) contract the house and courtyard and appurtenances  
 which belong to him/her/they in the city of the Oxyrhynchi in the Lycians' Camp district. . . , and  
 at . . . and a vineyard, of however many aruras it may be, together with the water sources and  
 appurtenances and farmstead and sunning-ground, the bridegroom having no power to . . . or dispose of  
 (these) without the consent of the bride.

Let the couple live together blamelessly and let the bridegroom supply to the bride and to their  
 children by each other whatever is necessary according to his means. But if the couple should separate  
 from each other and have no children by each other (surviving?), the bridegroom shall restore the  
 paraphernalia at once, in whatever condition they happen to be, without any liability accounted against  
 him for wear or loss, and in the case of the clothing . . . , . . . the one talent and nine hundred drachmas  
 in sixty days. . . '

1 *Μασσαλέινης*. This spelling is not attested before. *Μασσαλείνα* must be a variant of *Μεσσαλίνα*, which is in *NB* and in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

2 The name Dionysapollodoros is not attested before. His father, Dionysius alias Chresimus son of Dionysius, must be identical with the person of that name mentioned in III 478 as the father of a woman called Dionysia.

2-4 The width of the gap near the beginnings of the lines corresponds with about 13 letters of line 1 and 12 letters of line 5. The restorations of lines 2 and 4, as printed, seem too long. That in line 4, however, is virtually certain, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*, 66-72, and that in line 2 is difficult to condense further. Probably, therefore, there was more drastic abbreviation, e.g. *κρ* in 2 and *κα* of *τον κρ* in 4.

3 According to M. *Gdz.* 72, *χειρόγραφον* and *συγγραφή* are mutually exclusive terms. If *χειρόγραφος συγγραφή* is a real legal term and not just a confusion or an error of drafting - cf. the cancellation of the beginning of *χρηματισμός* just before - it may be the official description of the 'private protocol', a type of document best known from Oxyrhynchite examples which includes features of both *χειρόγραφον* and *συγγραφή*; see H. J. Wolff, 'The so-called private protocol', in *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 349-54, especially 354, note 13, for references to Oxyrhynchite marriage contracts in this form; add 3500.

5 One talent, nine hundred drachmas seems a very large sum. Compare G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 230-2, where about twenty known sums are listed.

6 It is interesting that both weight and value of the gold are given here, contrast A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 425. In the present case the money value of one mnaion of gold is 300 dr. Cf. CPR I 12 (A.D. 93) (1 mn. = 288 dr.); III 496 (A.D. 127) (1 mn. = c. 309 dr.); BGU IV 1065 (A.D. 97) (1 mn. = 352 dr.).

7 The chi with an added vertical descending well below the base line is not understood. The preceding alpha has a long tail which suggests that it is final. The vertical may perhaps be intended to cancel a chi written in error.

*κασσιτέρον ενεργού*. The word *ενεργός* usually has an active sense, but in I 84 (= W. Chr. 197). 14 *σιδη[ρο]ν ενεργού* was translated as 'wrought iron' and this was accepted by T. Reil, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. Gewerbes*, 69, though Preisigke (WB s.v.) took it as 'Eisen, das sich gut verarbeiten lässt'. In 84 the guild of *σιδηρολακείας* is supplying the iron for public works in the city. It seems unlikely that it supplied only the material and not also the labour. O. Montevicchi, in *Aeg.* 16 (1936) 44, pointed out that *γυναικεία κσεύη κασιτέρινα*, perhaps 'piccoli oggetti per toilette', are frequently mentioned in the abstracts of marriage contracts from Tebtunis in P. Mich. II, cf. P. Mich. v. 343. 5. This seems to confirm that the weight stated here was made up of various objects; cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, 71, for a short list of vessels known to have been made in tin.

A jar, a mirror, and a statuette of Aphrodite occur also in CPR 27. 10.

*κασιω[τικόν]*. Casiotic joinery is surprising in an object so small as a mirror; see I 55 6 n. and the boat called a *κασιωτικόν*. An alternative would be to read *καδιω*, cf. VII 1026 20 *κάδιον γυναικείον*, perhaps a 'beauty-box', but this implies *κάδιω* for *κάδιον*, a type of vulgar spelling which does not occur elsewhere in the document. The ambiguous letter is not damaged.

8 A *δίσκος γυναικείος* is probably what Antyllus ap. Orribasius 10. 9. 2 and Soranus 1. 35 more accurately term *δίσκος μαιωτικός*, 'an obstetric stool'. A plate of an Egyptian example of the New Kingdom is given in A. Andorlini, M. Manfredi, *Atti del I congresso congiunto . . . di psitcoprofilassi ostetrica*, a cura di M. Gerli, Perugia 1981.

8-9 In XII 1473 the couple who are renewing their marriage contract take care to acknowledge the legitimacy of their son. The verb is *ἐξομολογείσθαι* (9, 27). Here the word might be a cognate of *μάρτυς*, e.g. *ἐκμαρ(υρούς)*. The subject would be the grandparents of the children, but the situation would be reminiscent of that in 1473.

9 In the second half of the line a new section begins, marked by 2 cm. of blank space. The sense must be that the parents agree to apportion certain property to the couple. There is probably too little room for *ὀμολογούσι* in the narrow break after *Διον(υκία)*. Otherwise one might suggest [*ὀμολογούσι*] *προσμερίζει(ν)*, cf. F. T. Gignac, 'The loss of nasal consonants', in *Akten des XIII. intern. Papyrologenkongresses*, 137-46, esp. 141-2 and 146. Probably *προσμερίζει* is an error for the plural.

10 For village and allotment names see *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 174-5, and the following note.

11 At the beginning the text may have run *ἐν τῷ Μένανος κλήρου (ἀρούρας) β (ἡμυς) (τέταρτον) (ὄγδοον)*, *περι δὲ Ν]στρώ κτλ.*, though this cannot be confirmed from the meagre traces. For the double allotment

name see PSI XIII 1328. 30. The area is the difference between the total given in line 13 and the sum of the two subtotals given in line 11, i.e.  $5\frac{1}{2} - 2\frac{3}{4}(1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}) = 2\frac{3}{4}$ .

For the village of Netro see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 119.

In *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 204-5 there are five references to allotments of Philo in at least three toparchies, but none is connected with this village and it is not clear how many cleruchs of this name there were.

The other names do not appear in the list. *Βακχύλ(ου)* or *Βακχυν(ίδου)* would suit. For *K[α]ράβου*, which is not, however, certain, cf. XIV 1761 13, XXXI 2585 8.

11-12 Restore apparently *κ[ώ]μη* or *κ[ώ]μη*, followed by the name of the village. The village of Paomis is mentioned on a detached scrap, see 31, where it might, but need not, be a reference back to this passage (cf. 16 n.). After that we must have *οίκιον* to agree with *τὴν ὑπάρχου(σαν)*. The wording may have been similar to that in 13, e.g. *οίκιον καὶ αἶθριον καὶ τοὺς . . . τόκους κτλ.*

12 *βιοτεία* is so far only attested in Xenophon and Polybius in the sense 'way of life'. Here the sense must be 'livelihood' or 'maintenance'.

12-13 At the end of 12 restore *ε[α]ρτείας*, cf. 14, perhaps running over into 13.

13 The suprascript addition at the end of the line is imperfectly understood. The interest was probably on unpaid rent from tenants of the house, i.e. restore *α[ὐ]τοῖς*, the dative depending on a participle beginning *προς-*, which appears to have meant 'accruing'. This word is undamaged, but unread because the writing is rapid and tiny.

15 There is a comparatively wide space between 14 and 15, probably because a new section began here. The real property described in 15-17 was probably called a *προσφορά*, cf. G. Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse*, 257-9.

The damaged addition above the line comes before the raised lambda of *Παρεμβολ(ή)ς*, but presumably belongs after that word. It may be a description of the house.

16 At the beginning there must have been a village name to contrast with *ἐν μὲν Ὁξ(υρίγγων) πόλ(ει)* in 15 as well as a description of property associated with the vineyard which follows. The village of Paomis is mentioned in 31, but the context is very broken, cf. 11-12 n.

*ὄσαν ἐὰν ἦν (ἀρουράν)*. For *ἦν* as the common equivalent of *ἦ* cf. R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive*, 27-30, cf. line 19 here, *οἶα ἐὰν ἦν*.

16-17 Restore *οἶκ ἐξόντος τῷ γαμοῦντι vel sim.* The following formula must have been somewhat like that in 13-14, but rather shorter.

18 *διαζυγίωσιν*. The verb is not recorded in this sense in the papyrological dictionaries, but this appearance of it confirms the correction of [*ἀν*]αζυγήν in II 266 15 to [*δ*]αζυγήν, see Sel. Pap. 1. 7. 15.

*οἶκ ὄντων κτλ.* According to 8-9 the couple already had several children. If these words are not a mere error of drafting, they might envisage the early deaths of the children, cf. III 496 13 *τέκνον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὄντων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἢ καὶ τῶν γενομένων μεταλλαζάντων ἀτέκνων*.

19 *οἶα ἐὰν ἦν*. On *ἦν* for *ἦ* see 16 n.

A clause about wear and loss appears also in X 1273 32-3. On *ἀπουσία* as a technical term in metallurgy see XLIII 3121 7 n. Here its precise meaning is not clear, and it looks as if it merely emphasizes *τρίψις*, cf. our phrase 'wear and tear'.

*ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἱματίων* [ c. 20 . Cf. X 1273 29-33, where a choice is offered to the bride's party between accepting the original money valuation and taking the worn clothes at current valuation plus a money supplement to make up the original sum. Here the space occupied by the clause was much shorter and it must be recalled that the only clothing mentioned among the paraphernalia (*ἐν αὐτοῖς*) was one dyed cloak, to which no valuation was given. The sense to be restored here is therefore quite uncertain.

20 The scribe started to write *ἐν ἡμέραις* too early and cancelled it. Cf. 6 for the correction of *ω* to *ῶ*.

## 3492. ACCOUNT

45 B. 54/G (5-8)a

75 × 22.5 cm.

A.D. 161-9

The nature of this account remains obscure, chiefly, it seems, because of the damage to the first line, see 1 n., though it cannot have been of a common type. It stands on the back of 3473, but has no obvious connexion either with the priest who submitted that declaration or with the administrators who might have been expected to receive it.

It is set out in two sections, one beginning at the top of the papyrus, the other some way below the middle. Each entry is accompanied by a figure, which is always either 5 or 10, except for 3 in line 27. The persons in the upper section are listed in the nominative. All except four have check-marks in the margin. In the lower section the entries are in the dative and have no check-marks. Presumably the upper section concerns people liable to contribute, the check-marks indicating that they have done so. The lower part of the list must be of recipients. It is noticeable that several of the people in the first half are of the magistratorial class, while most of those in the second are tradesmen. Line three indicates that the account concerns one year. We might guess that the persons of the first section were members of some association, perhaps simply an association of neighbours, which was served by the tradesmen of the second section and which gave them on account of their services certain annual gifts or allowances. No helpful parallel text has been found.

[γ]ραφή τῶν εν . κ . γτω(ν) . . . . . ( )  
 . (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 Αὐρηλιῶν Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου.

	Θέων φιλόσοφος	€
5	νίωνος Ἄρποκρ(ατ-) γρ(αμματ-) γυμ(ασι-)	ι
	Ἀμμωνοῦς ἀδελφῆ Πάννο(ν)	€
	Πάννος	ι
	Θέων Ἀντιόχου	ι
	Διδυμίων Μεττίο(ν) ἀρχιερε( )	ι
10	Ἀπολλώνιο(ς) Φιλοστρ(άτου) κοσμη(τ-)	€
	Θέων [ . ] . ( ) γυμ(ασιαρχ-) ι, ἀλ(λ-) ι, γί(νονται) κ	
	Διογένη(ς) Χαίρη(μονο) \ . γυμ(ασιαρχ-)	ι
	Διον(ύσιος) μητ(ρός) Λογγεωί(ας) γυμ(νασιαρχ-)	ι
	Σαρα(πίων) καὶ Εὐδαίμ(ων) γυμνασι(αρχ-)	€
15	Διον(ύσιος) Ἀπφῦς	€

## 3492. ACCOUNT

	Ἀμμώνιος μητ(ρός) Τασε( )	€
	Ἡρακλείδη(ς) πρ. κτ( )	€
	Πανάρης Γερμ(ανού)	ι
	Πτολεμαῖο(ς) μακρός	€
20	Ἄρποκράς Ποπλίου	ι
	(vac.)	
	καὶ ὧν καὶ γὰρ ἀντέπεμψα	
	κουρεῖ € γερδίω €	
	γναφεῖ € βαφεῖ €	
	Εὐτυχ.( ) ἱατρῶ € Ζωῖλ( ) ἱατρῶ ι	
25	Νικηφό(ρῳ) σκευ( ) ι	
	Μύρωνι ὀρβι[ο]πώλ(η) €	
	πέπτη € Θρώνει ἠπ[η]τῆ γ	
	Δημητρίω πατρὶ Θάδο(ς) €	

1 εν . . . . . τῶν . . . . . ? 2 . L 5 αρποκρς γρς γυμς 6 παννῶ 9 μεττιῶ αρχιερεῖ  
 απολλῶ φιλοστρς κοσμη 11 [ . ] . s γυμς, ἀ, γι 12 χαίρημ \ . γυμς 13 διοῦ μητ λογγεωίς γῆ  
 14 σαρα), ευδαῖ γυμνασι 15 διοῦ 16 μητ τασε 17 ηρακλειδῶ πρ. κτ 18 γερμς 19 ποτολεμαιο  
 24 ευτυχῶ?, ἱατρῶ, ζωῖ 25 νικηφῶ σκευο . . 26 ορβι[ο]πῶ 28 θριδῶ

List of those contributing(?) . . . . . th year of the lords emperors Aurelius Antoninus and Aurelius Verus:

Theon, philosopher	5
The grandson of Harpocr( ) secretary of the gymnasium	10
Ammonius, sister of Pannus	5
Pannus	10
Theon son of Antiochus	10
Didymion son of Mettius, high-priest	10
Apollonius son of Philostratus, (ex-?)cosmetes	5
Theon . . . , ex-gymnasiarch	10, plus another 10: total 20
Diogenes son of Chaeremon . . . ex-gymnasiarch	10
Dionysius, mother Longinia, ex-gymnasiarch	10
Sarapion and Eudaemon, ex-gymnasiarchs	5
Dionysius alias (or son of?) Apphys	5
Ammonius, mother Taseus(?)	5
Heracleides, former owner(?)	5
Panares son of Germanus	10
Big Ptolemy	5
Harpocras son of Publius	10.
And of the goods which I set in return(?):	
To the shearer (or barber?)	5
To the weaver	5
To the fuller	5
To the dyer	5
To Eutych . . . , doctor	5

To Zoil( ), doctor	10
To Nicephorus, . . .	10
To Myron, vetch-seller	5
To the baker (?)	5
To Thoónis, tailor	3
To Demetrius, father of Thais	5.

1 Either *ἐνεργάτω(ν)* or *ἐνεργήτω(ν)* would suit the traces. Nothing better has been thought of. At the end *στφβνλ( )* is the best solution so far suggested, but none of the letters is completely certain. The final superscript letter should be a lambda or a damaged mu. The phi might also be psi or some abbreviation involving iota. If *στφβνλ( )* is correct, it is difficult to guess what the unit of measurement was, and what the correct expanded form should be.

2-3 Only a tiny trace remains of the numeral, the bottom of a round letter. Figures from one to nine, or letters from alpha to theta, are historically possible. Gamma and eta are incompatible with what remains. Epsilon is unlikely, considering the angular shape it has in this hand.

The imperial title exactly in this form is not recorded in P. Bureth, *Les titulatures*.

4 Since Philosphus is attested as a name, we should perhaps consider the possibility that it was intended here, but the common noun is likely to be correct, cf. *Aeg.* 59 (1979) 78.

5 *Ἀρποκρ(ατίωνος)* is the most likely expansion, but cf. *Ἀρποκρᾶς* in 20.

Since *γρ(αμματέως)* or *γρ(αμματεύσαντος)* *γυμν(αίου)* is a possible expansion – see P. Ryl. II 101. 8 – we probably need not consider expanding *γυμν( )* to *γυμν(αυτάρχου)* *vel sim*. Presumably Harpocr( ) was the person liable to contribute. If the grandson were himself the principal, his name would probably have been given.

6 The presence of a woman in the list excludes consideration of some types of association (cf. introd.), e.g. a gymnasium.

8 The names recall the Alexandrians Theon son of Antiochus in II 261 5-6 (A.D. 55) and Antiochus son of Theon in 3486 8 (A.D. 41/2?). This man might be of the same family.

9 Either *ἀρχιερε(ύς)* or *ἀρχιερέ(ως)* is possible, but in line 13 *γυμ(νασίάρχος)* or *γυμ(νασιάρχῆας)* clearly applies to Dionysius and not to his mother, which encourages us to think that in lines 9, 10, 11 and 12 the titles should be expanded in the nominative rather than the genitive. Otherwise less ambiguous forms would have been written.

The other titles in 10-14 indicate that the high-priesthood in question is the municipal office. The holder was actually in office at the date of this document, for *ἀρχιερατ(εύσας)* cannot be read. On the other hand, five gymnasiarchs are mentioned in 11-14. Some must have been ex-gymnasiarchs, and probably all were, since the forms of the abbreviations do not distinguish them.

In VIII 1113 i 2-4 there appears a person called Didymus alias Didymion ex-high-priest, who might be the same as this man, although 1113 dates from A.D. 203.

10 *Ἀπολλώ(μιος)*. The other possibilities are much less likely. The same is the case with *Δου(ύσιος)*, 13, 15, and *Καρα(πίων)*, 14.

11-14 The names are all too common to link with any individual in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*.

12 Above the beginning of *γυμν( )*, which is clumsily written or perhaps corrected, is ink which looks like the lower parts of a damaged lambda or chi. No solution to the problem has been suggested.

14 This is the only entry where more than one contributor is named. Nevertheless, it is not very likely that we should emend to *⟨δ⟩ και Εὐδαίμ(ων)*.

15 It is doubtful whether we should emend to *Ἀφῆντος* or take *Ἀφῆς* as an alias.

16 *Ταε(ύτος)* is likeliest.

17 *πρ. κτ( )*. If the doubtful letter were lost, *πρ(ά)κτ(ωρ)* would be restored without a second thought. The writing – undamaged, but not well formed – looks like *πρωκτ( )*. There are no words from this root in the papyrological dictionaries, nor would it suit the context. The only suggestion for a solution is *πρωκτ(ήτωρ) = πρωκτήτωρ*, 'former owner'. What he might have formerly owned remains unclear.

The raised final letter is clear enough to exclude *Πρόκλ(ου) = Πρόκλου*.

19 *μακρός*. It is hard to distinguish here between a description and a nickname. Also possible is *Μάκρος*, in which case we would have the same problem as in 15, see n.

21 In the documents *ἀντιπέμνω* usually means 'send back in reply', or simply 'return (something to somebody)'. The fact that the following entries contain so many trade names suggests that it might be translated 'send in repayment' (LSJ s.v. 1. 3). However, 'distribute' or 'pass on' would suit the present understanding of the text better.

22 Possibly the *κουρεύς* is not a barber, but a shearer of sheep, as we would thus have four stages in cloth-making represented: shearing the wool, weaving, dyeing, and fulling.

25 *κευς* . . . ( ) might be a new word. The last letter, raised above the line, looks like tau or gamma; the one after the omicron looks most like lambda or mu. No likely solution has been suggested.

27 *πέπτης* is not in the dictionaries, but has appeared once before, in P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 15. 7, see note. From Hesych. *μαζοπέπτης: ἄρτοκόπος* it is supposed to mean 'baker'.

## 3493-3494. LOANS OF WHEAT

Two interest-free loans of wheat in cheirograph-form, each in duplicate (note e.g. 3493 11-12 *χρόγραφον . . . ιδιόγραφον δικκόν γραφέν*). The parties in each document are the same, Sarapion and Diogenes, but in one of the documents (3493) Sarapion acknowledges receipt of 257½ artabas from Diogenes while in the other (3494), which is dated on the same day, Diogenes acknowledges receipt of 257½ artabas from Sarapion. The explanation of this curiosity remains uncertain. Had the contracts been written for the parties by a third person one might suppose that he had misunderstood the respective roles of his clients so that one of the pairs should have been invalidated and discarded, but this supposition may be excluded since each of the parties apparently wrote his own pair of acknowledgements; each loan is described as *ιδιόγραφον*, and they are in hands which are probably different although resembling each other in parts. It is tempting to think that some surreptitious deal lurked behind the texts, but if so its nature is elusive. In any case the deal, whatever it was, seems not to have been implemented (but see 3494 39 n.); each pair of duplicates is written on a single large sheet that was never then cut, and furthermore the inventory-numbers imply that both pairs were found together in the excavations. Did one of the parties keep both contracts? Note that we may infer from *δικκόν γραφέν* that no other copies existed.

Each of the two sheets is virtually complete; one has the remains of a 3-line annotation in the lower margin while the other has a docket on the back. Each was folded vertically to the same size. The similarity in their dimensions and appearance suggests that they were cut from the same roll, but the presence of (reversed-direction) kollema-joins down the extreme left edge of each piece makes it difficult to confirm whether they were once contiguous. The right-over-left overlap of the kollema-joins (a further detail of similarity) implies that both pieces were turned upside-down before writing, whether together (and cut subsequently) or separately.

Taken separately, the two contracts would not occasion much surprise, except for the substantial amount of grain concerned. It is to be noted that no fixed repayment time is set, although the stipulations regarding the grain to be repaid may imply that repayment was expected soon after the coming harvest or even before it. That the loans

are not of seed-corn is indicated by their date in late February (M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 137 seqq.), as also by the possibility of repayment before the coming harvest and by the already large volume of grain which, if interpreted as seed-corn, would represent an enormous scale of operations. No mention is made of interest or taxes. For interest-free loans see P. W. Pestman, *JJP* 16 (1971) 7-29. In the present instance(s) the fact that the quantity of grain is not a round figure and is so precisely fixed may imply that interest is already included; on the other hand we do not know whether the reciprocal nature of this curious transaction may have made the question of interest quite unnecessary.

## 3493

27 3 B. 42/G (1)

19.9 × 33.9 cm.

23 February A.D. 175

The duplicate main texts are well preserved, separated (14-15) by a gap of 5 cm. There is a deep lower margin with a damaged 3-line annotation at its lower edge. The back is blank.

The only notable difference of wording between the two copies is that the first omits *ἄκριθον* found in 23 in the second. In identifying the harvest from which the wheat came, the writer in both copies (4, 18) changed from using figures to using full wording.

Καραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαΐσκου μητρὸς  
 Δημητροῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-  
 χων πόλεως Διογένει τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς  
 Πλουτάρχης  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ  
 παραμεμετρηῆσθαι  
 πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος [ιδ] τεσσαρακαδικάτου ἔτους μέτρῳ  
 δημοσίῳ ἡμι-  
 5 αρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβαι διακό-  
 CIAI πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, ἄς ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταύτας σοὶ παραδώσω ἢ  
 {c}οἷς ἐὰν  
 αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενήματος τοῦ τεσσαρακαδικάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος  
 πεντεκαδικάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν ἄβολον ἄβολον κεκοικνευμένον  
 μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐν κόμῃ Ψώβθει τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας,  
 10 γινομένης σοὶ τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων  
 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Καραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου

ιδιόγραφον διςδὸν γραφὴν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ  
 ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ

Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, [Με]χ[ε]ῖ[ρ] κ[θ].  
 (vac.)

- 15 Καραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαΐσκου μητρὸς  
 Δημητροῦτος  
 ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως Διογένει τῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους  
 μη-  
 τρὸς Πλουτάρχης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ  
 σοῦ καὶ παραμεμετρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος  
 τεσσαρακαδικῆ[ου]  
 ἔτους μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ  
 20 ἡμισυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβαι διακοσίας πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ, ἄς ὀπηνίκα  
 ἐὰν αἰρή ταύτας σοὶ παραδώσω ἢ {c}οἷς ἐὰν αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως <ἢ>  
 γενήματος τοῦ  
 τεσσαρακαδικάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πεντεκαδικάτου ἔτους νέον  
 καθαρὸν ἄβολον ἄβολον ἄκριθον κεκοικνευμένον μέτρῳ [τῷ] προκει[ι-]  
 μένῳ ἐν κόμῃ Ψώβθει τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας, γιν[ο]μ[έν]ης  
 25 σοὶ τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ  
 ἐκ δίκης. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Καραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου  
 ἰδι-  
 οῦγραφον διςδὸν γραφὴν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ  
 ἐπιφέρο[ν]τι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Σε[βαστοῦ]  
 Ἀρμεν[ια]κοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχεῖρ κ[θ].

(blank space of 6 cm.)

- 30 (m. 2?) ]τα ἀποδιοδύνητος . . . . [  
 ]αποντος καὶ [.]. [. . .]. [  
 ]ερου τὰ γράμματα [

4 l. τεσσαρακαδικάτου; so in 7, 18, 22 6 c of ἄς corr.? v of ταύτας corr. from c. First ω of παραδώσω  
 corr. from o 8 ε of ἔτους rewritten; l. ἄβωλον κεκοικνευμένον 9 ἀπηλιώτην: λ rewritten, τ corr.  
 18 τ of τεσσαρακαδικῆ[ου] apparently corr. from ι: cf. 4 21 l. παραδώσω 23 l. ἄβωλον

(Lines 15-29) 'Sarapion also called Alexander, son of Diogenes and grandson of Hermaiscus, his mother being Demetrous, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Diogenes also called Dionysius, son of Diogenes and grandson of Diogenes, his mother being Plutarche, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have from you and have had measured out to me by the public half-artaba measure two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas of wheat from the produce of the past fourteenth year, total two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas, which whenever you choose I shall give (these) back to you or to whomsoever you choose without delay, either from the produce of the fourteenth year or (from the produce) of the present fifteenth year (in wheat that is) new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth and barley, sifted (and measured) by the aforesaid measure, in the village of Psothis in the eastern toparchy, and you are to have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property as one does when bringing a *dike*. This cheirograph written in my own hand in duplicate by me Sarapion also called Alexander is irrefutable wherever it is presented and for everyone presenting it on your behalf. The 15th year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, Mecheir 29.'

8 νέον. Sc. *πυρόν*, as elsewhere in these documents. νέος is of course regular terminology in clauses relating to the repayment of grain, but here is specially significant, indicating that repayment at whatever time it occurred was to be made in grain from the most recent harvest, thus qualifying the alternatives of 7-8.

11 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης: cf. XLVII 3351 12 n. κύριον: see H. J. Wolff, *ZRG, Röm. Abt.*, 90 (1973) 373.

30 ἀποδιδούτος. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 515. 2 and 4 n.

## 3494

27 3B. 42/G (2)

19.5 × 33.9 cm.

23 February A.D. 175

The papyrus is well preserved except at the top right corner of the upper text. The two texts are separated by a narrow gap of little more than 1 cm. There is a larger margin, without annotations, of 5 cm. On the back, a short single-line docket.

There are two points of variation between the two copies: the first omits the mention of the grandfather and the mother of Sarapion, in 21 in the second (τοῦ Ἑρμαϊσκού μητρὸς Δημητρούτος), while the second omits ἀκριθὸν found in 10 in the first.

Διογένης ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος Δι[ογέ]νου τ[οῦ Διογένους] μητρὸς Πλουτάρ[χης] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Σαραπίωνι [τῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Διογ[ένους] ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ παρα-  
 5 μεμετρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος τεσσαρεσκαίδε-  
 κάτου ἔτους μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας  
 πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβας διακοσίας πενήκον-  
 10 τα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, ἃς ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταῦτα σοι παραδώσω  
 ἢ οἷς ἐ(ἀν) αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενήματος τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου  
 ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος πεντεκαίδεκάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν  
 ἄβολον ἄβολον ἀκριθὸν κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρῳ τῷ προκει-  
 μένῳ ἐν κόμῃ Ψώβθῃ τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίαν,

γεινομένης σοι τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, κύριον τὸ χει-  
 ρόγραφόν μου τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου ιδιόγραφον  
 15 δις δὲ γραφὴν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ  
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχειρ κθ.

Διογένης ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος Διογένους τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς Πλου-  
 20 τάρχης ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 Διογένους τοῦ Ἑρμαϊσκού μητρὸς Δημητρούτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς]  
 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ καὶ παραμεμε-  
 τρηῆσθαι πυροῦ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου  
 [ἔτους] μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας διακοσίας  
 25 [πεντ]ήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, γίνονται ἀρτάβας διακοσίας  
 πενήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἡμικυ, ἃς ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρή ταύ-  
 τας σοι παραδώσω ἢ οἷς ἐὰν αἰρή ἀνυπερθέτως ἢ γενή-  
 ματος τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους ἢ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 30 πεντεκαίδεκάτου ἔτους νέον καθαρὸν ἄβολον ἄβολον  
 κεκοσκινευμένον μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἐν κόμῃ  
 [μῆ] Ψώβθῃ τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην τοπαρχίας, γεινομένης  
 σοι τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης, κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφόν  
 μου τοῦ Διογένους τοῦ καὶ Διονυσίου ιδιόγραφον δις-  
 35 δὲ γραφὴν πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ  
 ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέροντι. (ἔτους) ιε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ  
 Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου, Μεχειρ κθ.

Back (m. 2?) ci ( ) Ψώβθ(εως)

10 l. ἄβολων 11 l. τοπαρχίας 13 v of κύριον corr. from v 28 second ε of τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου  
 corr. from α 29 l. ἄβολων 30 l. κεκοσκινευμένον

(Lines 19-38) 'Diogenes also called Dionysius, son of Diogenes and grandson of Diogenes, his mother being Plutarche, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Sarapion also called Alexander, son of Diogenes and grandson of Hermaiscus, his mother being Demetrous, from the same city, greetings. I acknowledge that I have from you and have had measured out to me by the public half-artaba measure two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas of wheat from the produce of the past fourteenth year,

total two hundred and fifty-seven and a half artabas, which whenever you choose I shall give {these} back to you or to whomsoever you choose without delay, either from the produce of the fourteenth year or (from the produce) of the present fifteenth year (in wheat that is) new, pure, unadulterated, free from earth (and barley), sifted (and measured) by the aforesaid measure, in the village of Psobthis in the eastern toparchy, and you are to have the right of execution upon me and upon all my property as one does when bringing a *dike*. This cheirograph written in my own hand in duplicate by me Diogenes also called Dionysius is irrefutable wherever it is presented and for everyone presenting it on your behalf. The 15th year of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, Mecheir 29.'

39 The docket on the back is presumably to be expanded *ει(πολόγων) or ει(τολογίας)* (or another case?) or the like; specification of *πυρός* in the document seemingly excludes a reference to *σίτος* here. The docket will then refer to the completion of the transaction through the granary in Psobthis (cf. 11, 31) but it is not clear if it should indicate that the transaction was in fact completed; cf. the main introduction to 3493-4 above, where it is suggested that the arrangements were not implemented.

### 3495. FISHING ACCOUNT

26 3B. 52/B (1)+(2)+(3)

92.5 × 22.4 cm.

Second century

A well-preserved account containing seven columns with day-by-day entries of receipts and outgoings in money connected with the business of fishing. For the fishing-industry in general see XLVI 3267-70 and C. A. Nelson, *MPL* 2 (1977) 233-43, and H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 214, with references. See also P. Turner 25.

The account covers a 21-day period from Phaophi 11 to Hathyr 1 (= October 8/9 to 28/29) of an unspecified year. Fishing activity was concentrated in the autumn and winter months, see P. Oxf. 12. 8-10 n. and C. A. Nelson, op. cit. 242. Daily receipts are entered under the words *βόλου*, *ὄψολογίου* and *νυκτερινοῦ* (sc. *βόλου*; see notes on 2, 5 and 10), and the outgoings under the word *θεαγῶ* (8 n.). From time to time the *βόλου*-entries are followed not by a sum of money but by *ταριχ(ία)* or *ε(ί) ταριχίαν*; that is to say, a batch was not immediately sold or taxed but was set aside for pickling.

It is not clear whether the document is official or private – that is to say, an administrative account of the *ἐπιτηρηταί* of fishing or the fishermen's record of income from sales. We may, I think, exclude its being a temple account; on that explanation, the *θεαγός*-payments (otherwise to be seen as corporate) would have to be interpreted as salary and the amount – 133 dr. 1 ob. in 21 days – is far too high. If it is the fishermen's account recording the gross proceeds from the sale of each catch, the amount – around 1700 dr. in 21 days – seems reasonable and the *θεαγός*-payments, a bit less than one-twelfth of the take, can be readily understood as payment for the hire of boats or the like: cf. P. Ryl. II 196. 13-14. The entries for *ὄψολογίου*, which record income, may be a problem on this explanation, see 5 n. If the account is official and records the tax paid or due on the sale of each catch (not due on the catch simply, or the fish set aside for pickling would not escape taxation at this stage), the calculated

gross sales might seem excessive; but in fact the daily figures are not much different from those the *ἐπιτηρηταί* report, for example in their five-day account P. Osl. III 89 which belongs to the same time of year as the present text. On this interpretation a difficulty is presented by the *θεαγός*-payments, which would have to be interpreted as a government subsidy: whereas a daily payment on the part of the fishermen seems plausible, a government subsidy administered this way seems much less so. 3495 may be the kind of official day-book from which the *ἐπιτηρηταί* composed their five-day returns such as P. Osl. III 89; in respect of the *θεαγός*-payments, it may be notional, in that the sums due were totted up.

It is not clear whether the account is the original day-by-day record or a fair copy of it. Only one hand appears to have been at work. The *βόλου*-entries exhibit a regularity that suggests a fair copy, but the drachma-amounts by contrast are uneven and out of register in a way that suggests they have been added. Yet it is hardly conceivable that the *βόλου*-pattern could have been forecast.

The accounts are given in terms of a 7-obol drachma. Obols as such nowhere exceed 5, and are expressed by the usual symbols; 6 obols are represented by the *χαλκίνη*. Drachma-amounts are not multiples of four.

There is wide variation in the size of the sums entered beside the numbered *βόλοι*, from 1 dr. 1 ob. (17) to 80 dr. (176). Clearly the size of the catch varied accordingly, but we cannot easily judge the size of a catch because the evidence for fish prices is limited and they were naturally governed by quality as well as quantity (see e.g. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 317) and because of the uncertainty as to whether the sums represent income from sales or the tax thereon.

The calculations consist only of simple addition and subtraction but exhibit errors right through the text. These errors occur both in the daily totals and in the totting-up of the daily totals: in 27 the totting-up figure is doubly wrong, being neither the sum of the recorded daily totals (two out of three of which are wrong) nor the sum of what those daily totals should have been. Sometimes the errors are small, an obol only, sometimes possibly attributable to reading error – e.g. in 94 one might give the scribe the benefit of the doubt and suppose that he read the odd obol in 85 as an extended crossbar of theta. In 195 the daily total is stated 100 dr. too little. The extent of errors is extraordinary, given the simplicity of the arithmetic. In every case the error is on the low side, which must arouse the suspicion that they may be deliberate rather than the result of incompetence.

The account is written across the fibres. Preceding col. i there is a wide space of 31 cm., blank except that at the foot (below where an immediately preceding column would have come, had there been one) is written *αφλβ*; i.e. 1,532 drachmas? The roll is composed of four kollemata whose width (before pasting) varies from 22 to 27.5 cm. This roll is referred to by E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, 48, where the measurements from kollesis-edge to kollesis-edge (22-23 cm.) are given. On the other side is a cession of A.D. 139 which will appear in a later volume. In the margin

of the cession is a jotting apparently related to the fishing account, (γίνονται?) .ε (πεντώβολον). There seems to be no drachma-sign. The first figure ought to be 'A, thus indicating 1,210 dr. 5 ob. Neither this nor 'Αφλβ will accurately represent the overall total of the account, whether calculated from the total of the βόλος-amounts (1,693 dr.), from the daily totals as calculated on the papyrus (1,590 dr. 5 ob.), or from the totals calculated on the papyrus at the foot of each column (whether or not including col. vii for which the papyrus contains no total: so 1,588 dr. 1 ob. or 1,339 dr. 4 ob.).

i	
	ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Φαῶφι
	ἰα. ἄ βόλου (δραχμαί) η
	β̄ βόλου (δραχμαί) ι χα(λκίνη)
	γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) β (διώβολον)
5	ὄψολογίου (δρ.) ς (διώβ.)
	δ βόλου (δρ.) η (τετρώβ.)
	ε βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) κζ (διώβ.)
10	ιβ. ἄ νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) η
	β̄ βόλου (δρ.) η
15	γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ια (τριώβ. ?)
	δ βόλου (δρ.) δ
	ὄψολογίου (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.)
15	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ (δρ.) ις
	λοιπαὶ (δρ.) κ
	ιγ. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)
	β βόλου (δρ.) κ
	ὄψολογίου (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
20	γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) η
	ὄψολογίου (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)
	δ βόλου (δρ.) ιδ (διώβ.)
	ε βόλου (δρ.) ε (πεντώβ.)
	ὄψολογίου (δρ.) ς (πεντώβ.)
25	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ (δρ.) ιβ
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) μβ (διώβ.)
	(δρ.) πθ (τριώβ.)

ii	
	[ι]δ. ὄψολογίου (δρ.) η
	α βόλου (δρ.) ι χα(λκίνη)
30	β βόλ[ο]υ (δρ.) β (διώβ.)
	γ̄ βόλ[ο]υ (δρ.) η
	δ βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
	ε βόλ[ο]υ (δρ.) ς (διώβ.)
	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
35	(δρ.) θ (πεντώβ.)
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας {(δρ.)}
	(δρ.) κζ (τριώβ.)
	ιε. ὄψολογίου (δρ.) η
	α βόλου (δρ.) ιγ (ὀβ. ?)
40	β βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)
	γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ε (ὀβ.)
	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
	(δρ.) θ (πεντώβ.)
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας <α>
45	(δρ.) ις (διώβ.)
	ις. ἄ βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)
	β̄ βόλου (δρ.) ιβ
	γ βόλου (δρ.) ιδ (διώβ.)
	δ βόλου (δρ.) ια (τριώβ.)
50	ε βόλου (δρ.) δ
	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
	(δρ.) θ (πεντώβ.)
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
	(δρ.) μβ (διώβ.)
55	ιζ. νυκτερινοῦ (δρ.) ιβ
	β βόλου (δρ.) κη
	γ̄ βόλου (δρ.) ις
	ἄφ' ὧν θεαγῶ
	(δρ.) η
60	(δρ.) ρλε λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας (δρ.) μη



iii

	ιη.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	κη
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	λβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	κ
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	κα (ὀβ.)
65		(γίνονται) τῆς ἡμέρας	(δρ.)	ρα (ὀβ.)
	<u>ιθ.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ιβ
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ς χα(λκίνη)
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιγ (πεντώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
70		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	ς (διώβ. ?)
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.)	κδ	
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
75		(δρ.) λ χα(λκίνη)		
	<u>κ.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	η
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
	<sup>10</sup>	γ βόλου	(δρ.)	θ (πεντώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
80		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	κ
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	ς
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.) β	(διώβ.)	
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
85		(δρ.) νθ	(ὀβ.)	
	<u>κα.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	η
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ια (τριώβ.)
		δ βόλου	ταριχ(ία)	
90		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	η
		ς βόλου	(δρ.)	ι (διώβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.) α	(πεντώβ.)	
		λοιπαὶ (δρ.) μη	κθ	

iv

95	κβ.	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	α (πεντώβ.)
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	δ
		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	η (τετρώβ.)
100		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	β (διώβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.) β	(διώβ.)	
		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
		(δρ.) κε	(πεντώβ.)	
105	<u>κγ.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ι (διώβ.)
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ς (διώβ.)
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ι (διώβ.)
		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	η
110		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.) β	(διώβ.)	λοιπα<ι> (δρ.) μδ
	<u>κδ.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	τα(ρι)χ(ία)	
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	ις
115		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ (τετρώβ.)
		ε βόλου	(δρ.)	κη
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	ε (πεντώβ.)
		ζ βόλου	(δρ.)	γ (τριώβ.)
		ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ		
		(δρ.) β	(διώβ.)	
120		λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας		
		(δρ.) οε	(τριώβ.)	
	<u>κε.</u>	νυκτερινοῦ	(δρ.)	ζ
		β βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
125		γ βόλου	(δρ.)	η
		δ βόλου	(δρ.)	ιβ
		ε ε(ίς) ταριχίαν		
		(δρ.) ρμε	(ὀβ.)	

v

ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ (δρ.) β χα(λκίνη)

130 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας <ς>  
(δρ.) λς (ὀβ.)

κς. νυκτερινού (δρ.) ιβ  
β βόλου ταριχ(ία)

γ βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)

135 δ βόλου (δρ.) θ (ὀβ.)  
ε βόλου (δρ.) ιβ  
ς βόλου (δρ.) η  
ἄλλο(υ) (δρ.) δ

ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ  
140 (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)  
λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας  
(δρ.) νβ

κς. νυκτερινού ταριχ(ία)

β βόλου (δρ.) ις

145 γ βόλου (δρ.) η  
δ βόλου (δρ.) κδ

ε βόλου (δρ.) κ  
ς βόλου (δρ.) κβ (διώβ.)

ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ  
150 (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)  
λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας  
(δρ.) πς χα(λκίνη)

κη. πρώτου βόλου (δρ.) ιε (πεντώβ.)

β βόλου (δρ.) ιβ

155 γ βόλου (δρ.) ι  
δ βόλου (δρ.) μ  
ε βόλου (δρ.) κη  
ς βόλου (δρ.) κ  
ζ βόλου (δρ.) κη

160 η βόλου (δρ.) λς  
(δρ.) ροε

vi

θ βόλου (δρ.) κδ

ἀφ' ὧν θεαγῶ  
(δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)

165 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας  
(δρ.) ci (διώβ.)

κθ. α βόλου (δρ.) κδ  
β βόλου (δρ.) κ  
γ βόλου (δρ.) λβ

170 δ βόλου (δρ.) ις  
ε βόλου (δρ.) κη  
ς βόλου (δρ.) νς  
ζ βόλου (δρ.) λς  
η βόλου ἀντι

175 ε (δρ.) κ  
θ βόλου (δρ.) π  
ι βόλου (δρ.) μ  
θεαγῶ  
(δρ.) δ

180 λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας'  
(δρ.) τμη

λ. α βόλου (δρ.) κ  
β βόλου (δρ.) ις  
γ βόλου (δρ.) μ

185 δ βόλου (δρ.) κ  
ε βόλου (δρ.) ις  
ς βόλου (δρ.) ις  
ζ βόλου (δρ.) μ φνς

vii

η βόλου (δρ.) κη

190 θ βόλου (δρ.) μη  
ι βόλου (δρ.) μη  
ια βόλου (δρ.) θ (πεντώβ.)  
θεαγῶ (δρ.) δ

## PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρ(ας)	
195	(δρ.) ρρζ (πεντώβ.)	
	Ἀθῦρ ᾱ	
	α βόλου (δρ.) ι (διώβ.)	
	β βόλου (δρ.) κ	
	γ βόλου (δρ.) η	
200	δ βόλου (δρ.) δ	
	ε βόλου (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.)	
	ς βόλου (δρ.) β (διώβ.)	
	ζ βόλου (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)	
	η βόλου (δρ.) β χα(λκίνη)	
205	θεαγῶ (δρ.) α (πεντώβ.)	
	λοιπαὶ τῆς ἡμέρας	
	(δρ.) ν χα(λκίνη)	
89 ταρι <sup>x</sup>	So in 133	112 τα <sup>x</sup> 143 ταρ <sup>x</sup> 153 l. πρώτου 194 ημερ <sup>t</sup>
(1-27)	For good fortune. Phaophi	
	11th. 1st cast	8 dr.
	2nd cast	10 dr. 6 ob.
	3rd cast	2 dr. 2 ob.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	6 dr. 2 ob.
	4th cast	8 dr. 4 ob.
	5th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	10 dr. 2 ob.
	Remaining from the day	27 dr. 2 ob. (!)
	12th 1st (cast), nocturnal	8 dr.
	2nd cast	8 dr.
	3rd cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
	4th cast	4 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	5 dr. 1 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	16 dr.
	Remaining	20 dr. (!)
	13th Nocturnal	1 dr. 1 ob.
	2nd cast	20 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.
	3rd cast	8 dr.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	1 dr. 1 ob.
	4th cast	14 dr. 2 ob.
	5th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.
	From <i>opsologion</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	12 dr.
	Remaining from the day	42 dr. 2 ob.
		89 dr. 3 ob. (!)
(28-60)	14th From <i>opsologion</i>	8 dr.
	1st cast	10 dr. 6 ob.
	2nd cast	2 dr. 2 ob.

## 3495. FISHING ACCOUNT

	3rd cast	8 dr.
	4th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
	5th cast	6 dr. 2 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
	Remaining from the day	27 dr. 3 ob.
15th	From <i>opsologion</i>	8 dr.
	1st cast	13 dr. 1 ob.
	2nd cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
	3rd cast	5 dr. 1 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
	Remaining from the day	17 dr. 2 ob. (!)
16th	1st cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
	2nd cast	12 dr.
	3rd cast	14 dr. 2 ob.
	4th cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
	5th cast	4 dr.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	9 dr. 5 ob.
	Remaining from the day	42 dr. 2 ob.
17th	Nocturnal	12 dr.
	2nd cast	28 dr.
	3rd cast	16 dr.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	8 dr.
	Remaining from the day	48 dr.
		135 dr. (!)
(61-94)	18th Nocturnal	28 dr.
	2nd cast	32 dr.
	3rd cast	20 dr.
	4th cast	21 dr. 1 ob.
	Total for the day	101 dr. 1 ob.
19th	Nocturnal	12 dr.
	2nd cast	6 dr. 6 ob.
	3rd cast	13 dr. 5 ob.
	4th cast	8 dr.
	5th cast	6 dr. 2 ob.
	6th cast	8 dr.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	24 dr.
	Remaining from the day	30 dr. 6 ob.
20th	Nocturnal	8 dr.
	2nd cast	12 dr.
	3rd cast	9 dr. 5 ob.
	4th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.
	5th cast	20 dr.
	6th cast	6 dr.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.
	Remaining from the day	59 dr. 5 ob.
21st	Nocturnal	8 dr.
	2nd cast	12 dr.
	3rd cast	11 dr. 3 ob.
	4th cast for pickling	
	5th cast	8 dr.
	6th cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
	From which to the <i>theagos</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.
	Remaining	48 dr.
		239 dr. (!)

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(95-128)	'22nd	Nocturnal	5 dr. 5 ob.		
		2nd cast	1 dr. 5 ob.		
		3rd cast	5 dr. 5 ob.		
		4th cast	4 dr.		
		5th cast	8 dr. 4 ob.		
		6th cast	2 dr. 2 ob.		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.		
23rd		Remaining from the day	25 dr. 5 ob.		
		Nocturnal	10 dr. 2 ob.		
		2nd cast	12 dr.		
		3rd cast	6 dr. 2 ob.		
		4th cast	10 dr. 2 ob.		
		5th cast	8 dr.		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.		
24th		Remaining	44 dr. (!)		
		Nocturnal for pickling			
		2nd cast	12 dr.		
		3rd cast	16 dr.		
		4th cast	12 dr. 4 ob.		
		5th cast	28 dr.		
		6th cast	5 dr. 5 ob.		
25th		7th cast	3 dr. 3 ob.		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 2 ob.		
		Remaining from the day	75 dr. 3 ob.		
		Nocturnal	7 dr.		
		2nd cast	12 dr.		
		3rd cast	8 dr.		
		4th cast	12 dr.		
(129-61)		5th cast for pickling	145 dr. 1 ob. (!)		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	2 dr. 6 ob.		
		Remaining from the day	36 dr. 1 ob.		
		26th		Nocturnal	12 dr.
				2nd cast for pickling	
				3rd cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
				4th cast	9 dr. 1 ob.
5th cast	12 dr.				
6th cast	8 dr.				
Another	4 dr.				
27th		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	3 dr. 3 ob.		
		Remaining from the day	52 dr.		
		Nocturnal for pickling			
		2nd cast	16 dr.		
		3rd cast	8 dr.		
		4th cast	24 dr.		
		5th cast	20 dr.		
28th		6th cast	22 dr. 2 ob.		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	3 dr. 3 ob.		
		Remaining from the day	86 dr. 6 ob.		
		1st cast	15 dr. 5 ob.		
		2nd cast	12 dr.		
		3rd cast	10 dr.		
		4th cast	40 dr.		

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(162-88)		5th cast	28 dr.		
		6th cast	20 dr.		
		7th cast	28 dr.		
		8th cast	36 dr.		
			175 dr.		
		9th cast	24 dr.		
		From which to the <i>theagos</i>	3 dr. 3 ob.		
		Remaining from the day	210 dr. 2 ob.		
29th		1st cast	24 dr.		
		2nd cast	20 dr.		
		3rd cast	32 dr.		
		4th cast	16 dr.		
		5th cast	28 dr.		
		6th cast	56 dr.		
		7th cast	36 dr.		
		8th cast instead of 5th	20 dr.		
		9th cast	80 dr.		
		10th cast	40 dr.		
		To the <i>theagos</i>	4 dr.		
30th		Remaining from the day	348 dr.		
		1st cast	20 dr.		
		2nd cast	16 dr.		
		3rd cast	40 dr.		
		4th cast	20 dr.		
		5th cast	16 dr.		
		6th cast	16 dr.		
		7th cast	40 dr.		
			556 dr. (!)		
		8th cast	28 dr.		
		9th cast	48 dr.		
(189-207)		10th cast	48 dr.		
		11th cast	9 dr. 5 ob.		
		To the <i>theagos</i>	4 dr.		
		Remaining from the day	197 dr. 5 ob. (!)		
		Hathyr 1st		1st cast	10 dr. 2 ob.
				2nd cast	20 dr.
				3rd cast	8 dr.
				4th cast	4 dr.
				5th cast	3 dr. 3 ob.
				6th cast	2 dr. 2 ob.
				7th cast	1 dr. 5 ob.
8th cast	2 dr. 6 ob.				
To the <i>theagos</i>	1 dr. 5 ob.				
Remaining from the day	50 dr. 6 ob.				

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of supralinear strokes over numerals appears to be quite random.

*βόλου*. A *βόλος* is a station for fishing with a cast net according to L. Robert, *BCH* 102 (1978) 533-5, cf. *REG* 92 (1979) 457 no. 286. This geographical sense cannot be the meaning though in 3495: the ordinals indicate time and not place, as is clear from where in place of *ἃ βόλου* we find *ἃ νυκτερινῶν* or *νυκτερινῶν* simply (10, 17 etc.: see 10 n.).

<sup>5</sup> *ἀφολόγιον* poses a problem whether the account is private or official. Apart from the fragmentary P. Tebt. III 867. 41 (the context there at least seems fishy, cf. 37), the word is evidenced from papyri by P. Lond. III 856 (pp. 91-2) where it appears to be an excise tax paid in money, and by P. Turner 25. 16-17 where it is a money surcharge on a lease-rental, explained (16 n.) as perhaps a tax payable

by owners of fishing rights which was passed on to their lessees. Neither meaning will suit an account of fishermen's receipts, were that what we have here: suitable might be receipts from the sale of fish sent for pickling. Note that *ὀφολόγιον*-amounts are entered from Phaophi 11-15, and *ταρχία* from Phaophi 21-7. Such a sense will equally not suit P. Lond. 856 and P. Turner 25. The tax explanations will obviously suit an account of *ἐπιτηρηταί*, but the distribution of the entries remains curious, especially the three entries on Phaophi 13.

8 According to W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* 195<sup>1</sup>, the *θεαγοί* are to be identified with the *παστοφόροι*, but PSI IX 1039 argues against this. The word receives no entry in G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*. In the present account there is one entry each day except one for a payment to the *θεαγός*, and the amounts vary from 1 dr. 5 ob. to 24 dr. a day. These amounts bear no consistent relation to the sum of the *βόλου*-entries for each day. The day with no *θεαγῶ*-entry - Phaophi 18 - is followed by the top payment of 24 dr., which is perhaps for two days. If the payments relate to a specific service rather than a more general tax or subsidy, the reference to *πλοίων θεαγῶν* in P. Ryl. III 196. 13-14 may be relevant; if that is not a fossilized tax, the relationship to the boats of taxpayers, village officials and government remains problematical.

9 The total is an obol short.

10 *νυκτερινοῦ* (sc. *βόλου*) occurs in the account on Phaophi 12-13 and then constantly from Phaophi 17-27. This appears to be the only papyrological evidence for nocturnal fishing. If fishing took place only when there was adequate moonlight, this might explain the cessation in this account of nocturnal activity after Phaophi 27. Oppian refers to fishing with the aid of torches (*Cyn.* iv 140-3; *Hal.* iv 640-6 and v 428-31); for nocturnal fishing see also *Hal.* iii 85-7.

16 The total ignores all obols.

27 This is the total for Phaophi 11-13. It is not the sum of the daily totals, which would be 89 dr. 4 ob. The true total of the individual *βόλοι* etc. would be 90 dr. 2 ob.

45 The total is a drachma short.

60 135 dr. is the correct addition of the given daily totals for Phaophi 14-17. The true figure, however, should be 136 dr.

94 239 dr. is the total for Phaophi 18-21. The daily totals for these days are correct, but the sum given in 94 is an obol short.

111 The total given for the day, 44 dr., is 4 ob. short.

128 This is the correct addition of the daily totals given for Phaophi 22-24. See 111 n.; the figure should have been 145 dr. 5 ob.

138 *ἄλλο(υ)*. Is anything meant other than a seventh *βόλος*?

161 This is the total for Phaophi 25-7.

174-5 *ἡ βόλου ἀντι ε*. We are at a loss for the explanation of this curious statement.

188 *φυσ* is given as the sum of the correct daily totals for Phaophi 28-9 but is 2 dr. 2 ob. short.

195 The total is 100 dr. short.

## 3496. NOTICE OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

69/15(b)

6 × 21 cm.

December A.D. 214/

January A.D. 215<sup>2</sup>

Notice of grain credited to Zoilus, to meet his metropolitan tax dues for the area of the village of Peenno in the middle toparchy. Cf. 3497. It is stated that the grain was debited from amounts already transferred to meet metropolitan taxes for Peenno. Possibly the holder of the account from which transfer had originally been made had paid in error taxes scheduled for settlement by Zoilus, perhaps through misunderstanding the terms of a lease or the like; if so the present document would be in essence simply the transference of a tax-account credit. *ἀπὸ τῶν* (6) may suggest

that the original payer had met other tax liabilities in the Peenno-metropolitan category besides the amount paid in error; and if the above analysis were correct, the amount debited to him in favour of Zoilus would not need to be made up later. But we would expect such a third party to be named. A simpler suggestion is that Zoilus may have overpaid his taxes for the 21st year (A.D. 212/13), and now the surplus instead of being refunded is being credited to him against his current tax obligations.

The back is blank.

Διετάλ(ησαν) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος)  
 τοῦ προδιεληλυθ[ότος]  
 κα (ἔτους) Μάρκου  
 Ἀύρηλιου Σεουήρου  
 5 Ἀντωνίνου Καί[ε]αρο[ε]  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἀπὸ τῶν  
 προεθεθ(εισῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) πρ(ακτορείας)  
 Πεινω μητροπ(όλεως)  
 - Ζωίω πρ(ε)β(υτέρω) Ζωίλ(ου)  
 10 Πεινω φή(εως) ἀρτάβ(αι)  
 τέσσαρες ἡμισυ  
 τέταρτον χ(οίνικες) ζ,  
 (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) διδ [χ(οίνικες) ζ].  
 (ἔτους) κγ Ἀύτοκράτορος  
 15 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου  
 Σεουήρου Ἀντωνί[νου]  
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου  
 Βρετανικοῦ Μεγί[στου]  
 Γερμανί[κου] Μεγίστου  
 20 Εὐσεβ[οῦς] Σεβαστοῦ,  
 Τύβι .[  
 Ἰχυρ[  
 ἀπ. .[  
 . . . . .

9 *Ζωίω* slightly inset and preceded by short horizontal mark, *ρβ*

<sup>1</sup> Transferred, from the wheat-crop of the year before last - the 21st year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, from the (artabas) credited to the tax-district of Peenno, for metropolitan taxes, to Zoilus the elder, son of Zoilus, for Peenno for metropolitan taxes, four and three-quarters artabas and 6 choenices, tot. art. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ , choen. 6. The 23rd year of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius

Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Tybi . . . Ischy- . . .

2-3 Why is the wheat transferred a year and a half old? If the document represents an administrative correction of the records (see the introd. above) rather than a real physical transfer (see too 7 n. below), perhaps the original (and erroneous) payment had been made following the harvest of the 21st year (if the reading in 3 is correct) and in wheat of that harvest.

7 *προστέθ(εῦσάν)* signifies an accounting transfer rather than a physical transference of the grain, see F. Preisigke, *Girouesen*, 120.

8 *μητροπ(όλεως)*: cf. *πόλεως* in XLIV 3165 7, 3169 passim and especially 3185 5 with n.

9 The mark before *Ζωίλω* is perhaps from a letter (e.g. the crossbar of a *τ*) begun in error. *πρ(ε)β(υτέρω)*: the form of the abbreviation suggests that the writer had *προβ-* compounds in mind, cf. XL 2915 20 n. For the spelling *προβύτερος* instead of *πρεβύτερος* cf. XLVI 3278 15 n., with the reference to Mayer-Schmoll 1 i p. 45 lines 38-42 (§6, 5); also F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, 1 (Cisalpine-La Goliardica, 1976), p. 290.

13 [*χοίνικες*] ζ.: a trace of ink does survive, but it remains unclear to what precisely it should be assigned.

14-15 These two lines are severely effaced. The year number in 14 is transcribed solely on the basis of *κα* (itself uncertain) in 3.

## 3497. NOTICE OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

69/46 (a)

7.5 × 17.5 cm.

A.D. 216?

Notice of credit in grain issued by the sitologi of Ophis in the eastern toparchy. The transfer was made from one private account to another, in all likelihood to meet tax-liabilities assessed on the latter under the village of Phoboou, in the same toparchy. The form follows familiar lines. Cf. XXXI 2591, with the introd. to 2588-91; further, III 613-18; XII 1539-40; XXXVIII 2871; O. Brüss. 65; *SIFC* 43 (1971) 157-8; and F. Preisigke, *Girouesen*, 143 seqq. An unexpected feature is provided in 11-12, where the writer declares this notice of credit to be a duplicate. Presumably the original had been lost, see 11 n.

The back is blank.

διεστάλ(ησαν) πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος)  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο(ς) καθ' (ἔτους) Μάρκου  
Ἀῤρηλίου Σεουήρου  
'Αντωνίνου Καίσαρος

5 τοῦ κυρίου διὰ εἰτολ(όγων)  
'Ὀφρεως ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) Κλ(αυδίας)  
Πτολέμας τῆς κ(αι) Δ[ c. 4 ]  
'Ηρακλᾶ τῶ κ(αι) Πεκ[ύσει?]  
Θοώνιος Φοβώου .[.].

10 ζ( ) ε( ) (ἀρτάβαι) ζδ (χοίνικες) δ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ζδ (χοίνικες) δ.  
φθάνω δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ κύμβολ(ον)  
ἐγδούς. 'Ὀρίων σεσημείωμαι.

10 ζ' ε' 11 ν of φθάνω corr.

'Transferred, of wheat from the produce of the present 24th(?) year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of Ophis, from the deposit of Claudia Ptolema also called D. . . to Heraclas also called Pekysis(?), son of Thoonis, for Phoboou. . . 7½ artabas and 4 choenices, tot. art. 7½, choen. 4. I have already issued the same receipt. Signed by me, Horion.'

2 καθ: less likely is κα. The 24th year of Caracalla corresponds to A.D. 215/16, but the exact date of the present document must fall in 216 since the document was issued after the harvest of the 24th year, which is said still to be current.

6-7 A Claudia Ptolema appears in IV 810 of A.D. 134/5, but that is hardly likely to be the same person unless her private account was kept up under her name after her death.

8 Πεκ[ύσει] *exempli gratia*: there are other possibilities but Πεκύσει is the commonest name beginning Πεκ-.

9 After the village-name, a low trace at the edge of the lacuna; beyond the lacuna a long horizontal trace, perhaps of a line filler (cf. 3, 5, 11 and 12 where extended final strokes fill out the lines).

10 The abbreviations at the beginning of the line remain puzzling. ζ(ίτου) for the first seems excluded by πυροῦ in 1. ζ might be ζ(ύπαντι), cf. XLIV 3163 9 and n., and ε( ) might be ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτό), though the need for these in this apparently simple single-quantity transfer is not apparent. Given the lacuna in 9, attempts to understand these abbreviations separately may be pointless.

11-12 The same sense, differently worded, is given by O. Bodl. II 549. 1 and the parallel examples to which the note there refers us; add O. Leid. 258. Obviously related are the phrases of διὰ τὸ φάσκεν παραπετωκέναι-type, discussed by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* II 934-6. Further references are given by R. A. Coles, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 64. [The text to which that note refers has to be reconsidered in the light of P. NYU 5-11a: see N. Lewis, *BASP* 7 (1970) 112.]

## 3498. SALE AND CESSION OF LAND

50 4B. 34/E (13)a

23.5 × 31.5 cm.

27 October A.D. 274

Of this large sheet of papyrus cut from a roll all four edges are represented, but the upper left portion, with more than a quarter of the text, is lost. There is a kollesis c. 7 cm. from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

The loss of text from lines 1-25 amounts to at least forty letters at the beginning of every line and is too extensive to allow a certain reconstruction. From the subscription we know that C. Julius Diogenes sells and cedes half of 25½ arouras. We can see that the buyer was a woman and that the land was at the village of Seryphis, but many details of previous ownership, boundaries, etc., which were clearly the subject of 5-18, seem lost beyond recovery (see commentary).

The price of the land is one interesting new fact to come from the document. Half of 25½ arouras of artificially irrigated arable land sold at five talents of silver money (30,000 drachmas) yields a price of 2,335.7 drachmas per arura. In *Aeg.* 23 (1943) 38-44 O. Montevecchi has collected the known prices, qualities and areas of land, and A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 146-7, made certain calculations from more limited material. Both agree that too many factors are unknown to begin to explain the enormous variations in prices. This is quite true, but it does seem consistent that a piece of overgrown land sells at 1,200 dr. per ar. in A.D. 249 (XIV 1636), while artificially irrigated land which seems to be in good order sells at about twice as much twenty-five years later in 3498.

For the type of document and a short bibliography see O. Montevocchi, *La Papirologia*, 210-11. The parallels which have proved most useful for supplying the missing parts are IX 1208, XIV 1636, XXIV 2723, and P. Wisc. 1 9.

- Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διογένης c. 40-45 letters  
 ]...[.]...[ ]ς τῆς λαμπροτάτης  
 c. 30-35 τῆς λαμπρᾶς καί]  
 λα[μ]προτάτης Ὁξ[υ]βρυχειῶν πόλε[ω]ς υἱὸς Γαίου  
 Ἰουλίου Τείρωνος c. 20-25 ]αρχήσαντος τῶν λαμπρῶν  
 πόλεων Ὁξυρυχειῶν  
 καὶ c. 25-30 καὶ ὡς ἐχρη]μάτιζεν χωρὶς κυρίου  
 χρηματιζούσῃ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 5 ἔθῃ τέκνων δικαίῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ παρ]ακ[ε]χ]ωρηκέναι  
 σοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον  
 τὸ ὑπαρχόν μοι κληρονομικῶ δικαίῳ πρότερον τοῦ] δηλουμένου μου  
 πατρὸς Τείρωνος ἡμῖν  
 c. 40-45 α]δελφον αὐτοῦ  
 Οὐαλεριανὸν διαιρέσεως ἧς τὸ δικαί-  
 c. 35-40 περὶ] κόμην Σερύφιν  
 τῆς πρὸς<sup>ε</sup> λίβα τοπαρχίας  
 c. 40-45 ἐ]δαφῶν κιτικῶν  
 ἰδιωτικῆς ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι  
 10 πέντε ἡμίους ὀγδόου ἑκκαϊδεκάτου c. 10-15 ]... ἄρουραι  
 δώδεκα ἡμῖν τέταρτον ἑκκαϊ-  
 δέκατον δυοτριάκοντον c. 20-25 ]... τροχοῦ καὶ  
 λάκκου καὶ φυτῶν καὶ μηχανῆς  
 c. 40-45 ἀ]ρουρῶν εἴκοσι  
 πέντε ἡμίους ὀγδόου ἑκκαϊδε-  
 κάτου c. 35-40 ]α ἀρούρας  
 δεκατρεῖς τρίτον ἑκκαϊδέκατον  
 ὦν γείτονες νότου ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου μέρους c. 5 ]... μὲν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ  
 ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἢ ἐξῆς, βορρᾶ ἰδιωτικῆ  
 15 c. 40-45 ]... λων,  
 ἀπηλιώτ[ου] πλευρισμός, λιβὸς ἐκ μὲν τοῦ  
 ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρους c. 10-15 , ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ νότου δι]ώρυξ. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 ἑτέρῃ σφραγίδι τὰς λοιπὰς ἀρού-

- ρας δώδεκα ἕκτον ὀγδοὺν ὦν γείτονες νότου c. 5-10 ]... ἰδιωτικῆ,  
 βορρᾶ καὶ ἐπηλιώτου αἰ ἐπάνω  
 λιβὸς c. 5 . τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ] τιμῆς καὶ  
 π[αρα]χωρητικοῦ τοῦ ἡμίους μέρους  
 τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἡμίους ὀγδόου] ἑκκαϊδεκάτ[ου] καὶ  
 20 τοῦ μέρους τῶν ὕδρευμά-  
 των καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων] ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ  
 νομίσματος δραχμὰς  
 μυριάδας τρεῖς, αἶ εἰς τάλαντα πέντε, αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον] παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ πλήρου  
 διὰ χειρός, καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 ἡριθμηθεῖσθαι με ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὠμολόγη]σα. κρατεῖν οὖν σε  
 καὶ κυριεῦεν σὺν ἐκ-  
 γόνους καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταλημφομένοις τοῦ πωλουμ]ένου καὶ  
 παραχωρουμένου σοὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς  
 π]ρό]κειται ἡμίους μέρους τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν] καὶ ὕδρευμάτων καὶ  
 25 μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν  
 συνω]νομασμένων π[ά]ν[τ]ων καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν χρᾶσθαι] καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρή, μηδε-  
 μίας μοι [ἢ ἄλλω μη]δενὶ ὑ]πὲρ] ἐμοῦ ἐφόδου κατα[λειπομένη]ς ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
 ἢ ἐπὶ μέρος αὐτῶν κατὰ μηδένα  
 τρόπον, ἀ]σπερ καὶ ἐπ[άν]αγκ[ε]ς παρέξομαι σοὶ βεβαία[ς] διὰ παντὸς ἀπὸ  
 πάντων πάσῃ βεβαιώσει καὶ κα-  
 θαρὰς ἀπ[ὸ] τε γεωργίας β]ασιλικῆς κα[ὶ] οὐσιακῆς γῆς κα[ὶ] παντὸς εἶδους  
 καὶ ἀπὸ ὀφειλῆς καὶ κατοχῆς πάσης  
 δημοσία[ς] καὶ ἰδιωτ]ικῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ βουλευτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς  
 οὐτινοσοῦν ἄλλου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀ-  
 30 πὸ ἀπε]ργασίας καὶ ὕδρ]οφυλακίας χωμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 τελουμένων δημοσίων καὶ ἐπικλας-  
 μῶν καὶ ἐπ]ιμερικῶν π]αντοίων τῶν ἕως τοῦ διελθόντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 διελθόντος ε (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἐγες[τ]ῶ[τος] ζ] (ἔτους) [τούτῳ] πρὸς φ[ο]ρα εἶναι σοῦ τῆς παραχωρουμένης,  
 πρὸς ἦν καὶ εἶναι τὰ ἀπὸ λημμάτων  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος ζ] (ἔτους) δημοσία καὶ ἐπικλας μ[ο]ὺς π]αντοίους. ἐὰν  
 δέ τι φανῇ ὀφειλόμενον ἢ ἐξακολουθοῦν

τουτ...[.]....[.....].μου παντός πόρου. πάντα δὲ τὸν καθ' ὀνηποτοῦν τρόπον ἐπελευσόμενον

35 ἢ ἐμπουις[όμενον το]ύτων χάριν ἢ μέρους αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ἀποστήκω  
 παραχρήμα ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ δα-  
 πάναις καθ[έ]περ ἐκ δίκης. κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις καὶ παραχώρησις τρισσῆ  
 γραφεῖσα, ἥνπερ δηνήκα ἐὰν αἰρῆ ἀνοί-  
 σεῖς διὰ δημοσίου, οὐ προσδεομένη ἑτέρας μου εὐδοκήσεως διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν  
 εὐδοκεῖν με τῇ ἐσομένῃ  
 δημοσίᾳ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καλῶς πεπραχθαι ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ζ' Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Λουκίου Δομιτίου Α[ὐ]ρηλιανοῦ Γοθητικοῦ Μεγίστου Καρπικῶ  
 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς

40 Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι λ'.

(m. 2) Γάιος Ἰούλιος Διογένης καὶ ὡς χρηματίζω πέπρακα καὶ παρεχώρησα τὸ  
 ἥμισυ μέρος  
 τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι πέντε ἡμίονος ὀγδόου ἑκκεδεκάτου καὶ τοῦ  
 μέρους  
 τῶν ὑδ' ῥ' ἐυμά[τ]ων καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων καὶ  
 ἀπέσχον  
 τὰ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ ἀργυρίου[v] τάλαντα πέντε καὶ βεβρώσω  
 πάσῃ βεβρώσει

45 καὶ εὐδοκῶ τῇ δημοσίᾳ, πάντα δὲ ὡς πρόκειτ[ε] καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς  
 ὁμολόγησα.

2 ἰοςγαίου 14 ἰδιωτικῆ 17 ἰδιωτικῆ; 1. ἀπληγίου 19 ὕδρευμα 24 ὕδρευματων  
 27 ἐπαν[α]γ' κ[ε]ς 31 εἰς 32 ζ[ε] 33 ζ[ε] 35 ἐπαναγ' κ[ε]ς 38 λ[ε] 39 δομιτ' τ[ε]τιου  
 41 γαϊοσίουλιος 42 1. ἑκαυδεκάτου 44 1. βεβαίωσω, βεβαίωσει 45 1. δημοσίᾳ, πρόκειται

'Gaius Julius Diogenes... of the most glorious... of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, son of Gaius Julius Tiro... of the glorious cities of the Oxyrhynchites and the... to... daughter of... and however else he was styled, acting without a guardian according to the customs of the Romans by the *ius liberorum*, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold and ceded to you henceforth and for ever the half share [that belongs to me by right of inheritance formerly] my said father Tiro's... division of property (with) his brother (?) Valerianus, the title from which... of 25½ aruras of private land in grain-growing ground... near the village of Seryphis of the western toparchy... (of which the half share is) of 12½ aruras... and of the share of the wheel and the cistern and the plants and the irrigation machine... 25½ aruras... 13½ aruras, of which the boundaries are, on the south in the eastern section... in the western section the following parcel, on the north private land belonging to... and others (?), on the east a dam, on the west in the northern section... in the southern a canal; in the other parcel the remaining 12½ aruras, of which the boundaries are, on the south private land belonging to... on the north and east the above (aruras?), on the west a canal (?). The sum agreed between us as

the price and cession-value of the half share of the aforesaid 25½ aruras and of the share of the water sources and irrigation machine and all the things named along with them, that is 30,000 drachmas of imperial silver coinage, which are five talents, I have received on the spot in full from your hand. And to your question whether I have been paid the whole sum I have given my agreement. You shall therefore own and possess with your descendants and successors the half share of the aforesaid aruras and of the water sources and irrigation machine and all the things named with them, which is sold and ceded to you by me as stated above, and shall have power to use and dispose of them as you may choose, no right to make claim upon them or any part of them being left to me or to any other on my behalf in any way, and of necessity I shall deliver these to you guaranteed from every claim in perpetuity with every guarantee and free from cultivation of royal or domain land and from every tax and from every debt and lien whether public or private or municipal or senatorial and from everything else whatsoever, further also from maintenance work and water guarding on the dikes and from the public dues payable on them, and from extraordinary imposts and compulsory cultivation of any kind up to and including the past fifth year, because the profits from the present sixth year belong to you, to whom the land is ceded, and the public dues from the income of the present sixth year and the imposts of all kinds are for you to pay. If any debt or encumbrance upon them (?) appears... (with my?) whole fortune. Anyone who in any way whatsoever takes any legal action or makes any claim in respect of these or a part of them I shall of necessity oppose at my own expense as if in consequence of a legal decision.

The sale and cession written in three copies is authoritative, and you may submit it whenever you choose through a public office without the necessity of my further concurrence because I hereby give my consent to the future public registration. To your question whether this has been done rightly and properly I have given my agreement.

Sixth year of Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Gothicus Maximus Carpicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 30th.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Gaius Julius Diogenes and however I am styled, have sold and ceded the half share of the aforesaid 25½ aruras and of the share of the water sources and the irrigation machine and all the things named with them, and I have received the five talents of silver money which are the price and cession-value, and I shall guarantee them with every guarantee, and I give my consent to the public registration, and as regards everything as aforesaid having been asked the formal question I agreed.'

1-2 C. Julius Diogenes, cf. 41, is known as prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 279/80, see *CE* 43 (1968) 325-31, esp. 328-9. (Add to the references there P. Harr. 140.) None of the other documents gives him a long titulare, but here line 2 evidently attributed to him municipal office or offices, present or past, at Oxyrhynchus. Lines 1-2 evidently attributed to him office in another city, a more important one, since it comes first. Presumably it was Alexandria, cf. e.g. *BGU* IV 1073 (= *M. Chr.* 198). 3-6. A long descender suiting phi suggests the restoration ὑπομηματο[γ]α[δ]ι[φ]ος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ἰ [πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, cf. *ibid.*

2-4 Line 2 gives Gaius as the *praenomen* of Diogenes' father, whose *cognomen* appears from 6 as Tiro. His *nomen* must evidently have been Julius. He held municipal office, as gymnasiarch or euthenarch, in Oxyrhynchus and in another city whose lost name followed. Probably, therefore, it was not a more important place. No clear parallel to this has been located. Antinoite citizens could be councillors of Oxyrhynchus, see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung*, 238 and n. 179. Athletic victors could gain citizenship in cities other than their own, cf. e.g. *XXVII 2476* 32-3, 47-8. But holding office in two cities, except for the special case of Alexandrians acting in the nome capitals, is most unusual. There may be a connexion here with P. Harr. 140, a fragment containing subscriptions to a division of property among three persons, one of whom is C. Julius Diogenes. Another party, whose name is lost, had the title *παράδοχος*, peculiar to athletic victors.

C. Julius Tiro does not occur in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, or in its supplement, *idem, The Family of the Ti. Iulii Theones*, App. A. It is probable that his name should be read in *XII 1537* 10, where the edition has the inexplicable form Γα[δ]ου (γα[δ]ου) Αἰδύμ[ου] Τίρωνος. A photograph has failed to confirm this absolutely, but γαῖνίμ[ου] Τίρωνος seems a possibility, and certainly a *nomen* is required.

4 This line began with καί, followed by the name of another city to match Ὀξυρυγχειῶν in 3. It continued with the name, in the dative, of the woman to whom Diogenes ceded the land. After that came her patronymic. Her father was dead, as we see from the tense of καὶ ὡς ἐχηρ[μ]ατίζεω.



5 6 Cf. IX 1208 8-9 for the restoration, but of course κληρονομικῶ δικαίω is no more than a likely guess, see 7-8 n.

7-8 Since so much is missing, the sense can only be guessed. Perhaps the most likely course of events is that the land came to Tiro as the result of a division of property between him and his brother Valerianus and that the right of ownership descended by inheritance to Diogenes. If so, restore e.g. μέρος τὸ κατηρητικός αὐτῶ (= Τείρωνι) ἐξ ἧς πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανὸν διατρέσσω ἧς τὸ δικαίω [ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς ἐμέ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διαθήκην, 'share which came to him (Tiro) as the result of the division which he concluded with his brother Valerianus, the title from which came to me in accordance with my father's will'. Of course, this is sheer conjecture. Το ἀδελφόν, πατράδελφον and μητράδελφον are possible alternatives, and we cannot exclude, for instance, τὸ κατηρητικός μοι (= Διογένει) ἐξ ἧς πεποιήμαι κτλ. The restoration of 8 is open even wider to other interpretations.

9 Restore first τὸ Ὁξυρναχίτου νομοῦ οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ, then ἐκ τοῦ οὐ ἐκ τῶν followed by a clerus name or names and perhaps κλήρου οὐ κλήρων, cf. *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 159-244, *Festschrift Oertel*, 101-6. Only cleruchic land was alienated by παραχώρησις.

9-11 The full extent of the land half of which is ceded is known from the subscription, 42. What follows in 10-11 is evidently the area of the half ceded, cf. P. Wisc. 1 9. 15-16. The phrase that introduces it in P. Wisc. 9 is uncertainly read, see Pl. III there, but it plainly was not the same. Here restore something like ὡν αἰ τοῦ ἡμίκοιρος οὐ ὡν αἰ τοῦ ἡμίκοιρος μέρους.

11-12 This passage specifies appurtenances of the land and is shortened in 19-20, 24-5 and 42 to καὶ ὄδρευσμάτων καὶ μηχανῆς καὶ τῶν συνωνομασμένων πάντων. The traces before τροχοῦ do not suit καὶ οὐσ and do not seem to suit τοῦ; they might be ]τρος, e.g. καὶ τοῦ προσόν]τρος τροχοῦ.

12-18 The essential wording of this passage has not been recovered, but it is plain that the full extent of the land half of which is ceded was specified again in the genitive (12-13), as ar. 25½ + ½ + ½, and it was said here that it comprised two parcels, cf. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ φραγίδι (16). The indispensable elements of the restoration of 14, cf. e.g. XII 1537 13-22, fill the lacuna there well enough to exclude the addition of the next fraction in the series (δυστριακοστόν), and therefore show that the larger parcel was no bigger than the figures in 13 indicate, i.e. ar. 13½ + ½, from which by subtraction we can arrive at the area of the smaller parcel, i.e. ar. 12½ + ½, which is to be restored in 17. It is very unusual for the arura to be divided by three instead of the regular two, see *W. Gds.* LXIX-LXX, but τρίτον is certain in 13 and the arithmetic enforces the restoration of ἕκτον in 17. For a discussion of irregular series of fractions see WO 1 776.

The boundaries are not entirely recoverable, but we can see that the larger parcel formed the entire northern and eastern boundaries of the smaller, while the smaller formed only a part of the southern boundary of the larger. The canal which formed the southern part of the larger parcel's western boundary very probably also formed the whole of the western boundary of the smaller parcel. Fig. 1 shows two possible shapes:

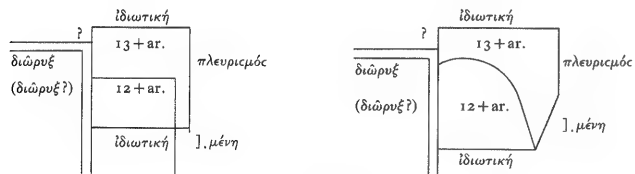


Fig. 1

14 ] . μένη. The first letter is rounded. Restore perhaps ἐπα]ρμένη, but cf. XII 1537 18, 21-2 ιδιω(τικῆ) ὄδουμένη, and there may well be other possibilities.

ἡ ἐξῆς. Presumably φραγίς is the word to be understood, cf. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ φραγίδι (16). Cf. 17 n.

15 Restore probably καὶ ἀλλων, preceded by the name or names of one or more owners of the adjoining private land. Cf. XV 1636 14 ἀπηλιώτου ἑτέρων ιδιωτικῆ.

17 ἐπηλιώτου. Read ἀπηλιώτου. Eta has been corrected from alpha, which suggests that the writer anticipated ἐπάνω and failed to correct the error completely.

αἰ ἐπάνω. This must mean the other parcel of land, cf. ἡ ἐξῆς (sc. φραγίς) in 14. If it should not be corrected to ἡ ἐπάνω (sc. φραγίς), the noun to be understood is presumably ἄρουρα. That it was not written out in 18 is indicated by the fact that forty letters must be supplied in that line according to common form, leaving only about five for the specification of the boundary on the west. This boundary was probably the same as the southern part of the western boundary of the other parcel, i.e. a canal, διώρυξ, see 16. In a similar context in XII 1537 19 we find ἡ ἐπάνω φραγίς. Here, however, the phrase ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ φραγίδι (16), taken with the single set of boundaries in 14-16, forbids us to suppose that there were more than two parcels and understand αἰ ἐπάνω (φραγίδες).

28-9 κατοχῆς . . . βουλευτικῆς. Cf. IX 1208 21 (with BL VI 101 = TAPA 97 (1966) 61. 18 n.); PSI VII 771. 16.

That a κατοχῆ βουλευτικῆ must be connected with the bouletic funds seems necessary and A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 41-2, shows that the bouletic funds came from the εἰσιτήριον paid by the members of the council and that the fund got interest on the εἰσιτήριον if it was not paid in a lump sum. The κατοχῆ βουλευτικῆ must be the lien placed on the councillor's land until the εἰσιτήριον was paid in full. The natural implication of this would be that the seller was a member of the council, which he almost certainly was in the present document, see 1-2 n., but in 1208 this was not specified.

30 τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τελομένων. The same should be read in IX 1208 21, where [ὄ]πὲρ ἀ[λλ]ων was restored.

33-4 The meaning of the clause ἐὰν δὲ τι φανῆ κτλ. is clearly that the seller's whole fortune is to hold liable for any outstanding debt or other encumbrance on the land which may be discovered after the sale. A similar clause stood in XXXIV 2723 24, where only ]φανῆ ἐξ[ survives, but no complete parallel has been located. In 34 a high trace before the first lacuna suggests that τούτοις[ is better than τούτοις[. The second letter after the bigger gap looks very likely to be hypsilon, the first could be omicron. No plausible restoration of the apodosis has been thought of.

### 3499. SYNCHORESIS

22 3B. 15/B (1-3)c

10 × 6.6 cm.

c. A.D. 298?

On the synchoresis see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. griechischen Papyri Ägyptens*, II 91-5. According to that account (ibid. p. 93) the latest mention of the type dates from A.D. 259. That mention, in SB VIII 9878, concerns a contract actually of A.D. 242, while P. Tebt. II 319 is a synchoresis of A.D. 248. The present scrap, in any case, may well be from the latest example so far known. Unfortunately the assigned date depends on the identification of Aurelius Tiro alias Apoll. . . (4) with Tiro alias Apollonius councillor in XII 1416 1, cf. XII 1515 4, and it is possible that the double name was not confined to one person, cf. 4 n. If the same person is meant, as seems most likely, this document might be some decades earlier than 1416, but even that would put it among the latest examples of the form.

The back is occupied by an account published here as 3502.

τῶ] καὶ Τούρβωνι ἱερεῖ ἀρχιδικαστῆ κα[ὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ  
τῶν χρηματιστῶν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων, (vac.)  
παρὰ τ]ῆς καὶ Διδύμης Καρὰ τοῦ κα[ὶ] Διογένους [  
], διὰ Αὐρηλίου Τείρωνος τ[ο]ῦ καὶ 'Απολλ[λ]  
5 ], χιός μητρὸς 'Αλίνης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς π[ό]λεως μετὰ κυρίου



1 The self-ἐκδοσις of P. Giss. 2. 8 is different in that the bride acts with her father as κύριος. That contract includes a dowry, unlike 3500: but the involvement of a κύριος in P. Giss. 2 may invalidate direct comparison.

4 Παῖσιος. Πάσιτος might possibly be read.

5 ἐνταφιασταί. Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, 1 90-7; also L. Koenen, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 20-1. For women in such professions cf. M. San Nicolò, *Ag. Vereinswesen* (revised ed., 1972), 1 99.

10 μεροθύ. Cf. XLVII 3345 66 and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1, 287.

12 κυνομοφι[ύ]ων. Cf. P. Grenf. II 78. 4, ὀμοφύλων, of a woman in the context of marriage to an ἐξωσυλίτης. Note the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, § 112, where ὀμοφύλοις occurs in a context of juridically separate treatment for the (there inferior) class concerned (γάλλων καὶ καθρών, § 112. 244). It is not clear whether the details and vocabulary of the present contract indicate that ἐνταφιασταί may have been similarly in a special juridical position. There were some restrictions on the marriage of priests, entailed by the position they held, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, 109, but it seems unlikely that ἐνταφιασταί were rated as priests, see M. San Nicolò, op. cit. 1 97.

13 Cf. P. Lond. v 1711. 43-4, χωρὶς εὐλόγου αἰτίας.

## 3501. INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS

22 3B. 14/G (7-10)c

7 × 9.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

The present document offers little variation from previously known specimens of invitations, except in line 6, which is still not understood, see n. On the type see *JEA* 61 (1975) 251-4. To the list there (p. 253 n. 2) add XLIV 3202 and P. Coll. Youtie II 51-2. The item from Cologne is now republished as P. Köln I 57. Other invitations specifically to celebrate an epicrisis are VI 926 (= W. Chr. 486) and XXXVI 2792. On the institution of epicrisis see C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt*.

The hand is an upright stylized cursive, more carefully written, but otherwise comparable with P. Mert. I 29 (third-fourth century A.D.) and 32 (early fourth century A.D.). The papyrus is a palimpsest. The earlier text was written in a small cursive hand upside-down in relation to the invitation. It has been so thoroughly washed off that nothing more than an isolated letter or two can be read. The back is blank.

καλεῖ και Κύρος εἰς

τὴν ἐπίκρισιν [τοῦ

υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ - ἐν καὶ

ἡ γυνή σου - ἀπὸ [

5 ἐνάτης . . [ 2-3 letters

δευεῖστα . [

Μεσορῆ ιε [

1 I. ce 3 üou 5 I. ἐνάτης

'Syrus invites you to his son's epicrisis - you and your wife - from the ninth hour. . . Mesore 15.'

1-2 The restoration follows the wording of XXXVI 2792. A longer version appears in VI 926 - καλεῖ . . . δειπνήσει εἰς τὴν ἐπίκρισιν. . . This is rejected here chiefly because lines 4-5 can hardly have held more

than ἀπὸ [ῶρα] ἐνάτης or ἀπὸ [(vac.) or τῆς?] ἐνάτης ὥρα(ς), see n. It is not clear whether the presence or absence of δειπνήσει makes a significant difference to the nature of the invitation.

3 Wives are not usually mentioned in invitations, which may account for the broken syntax.

4-5 The usual phrase is ἀπὸ ῶρα ἐνάτης. Here the letter after ἐνάτης looks most like omega and there are also traces to the right above it which might suggest the monogram of omega and rho often used for this word, e.g. XXXIII 2678, or might be offsets or part of the palimpsest text. If ὥρα(ς) is to be read in 5, the end of 4 may have held τῆς or have been left blank. If not, ῶρα(ς) or ὥρα(ς) is to be restored in 4. No likely longer version has been thought of, cf. 1-2 n.

For the spelling of ἐνάτης cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, 1 158.

6 No satisfactory articulation of δευεῖστα. [ has been achieved. In P. Fay. 132 the invitation is to dine εἰς τὰ Τίτου τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου), 'at the house of Titus the centurion', and it is precisely at this point that we expect the location to be given, but εἰς τὰ would leave δευ in unsatisfactory isolation. Cf. perhaps the syllable omitted in δεύ[ρο] μετ' αὐτοῦ, X 1297 15. It is possible that the sigma has been cancelled very discreetly, but the extra ink may well be accidental.

7 Mesore 15 = 8 August.

## 3502. ACCOUNT

22 3B. 15/B (1-3)c

10 × 6.6 cm.

Third/fourth century

The writing shows similarities to P. Mert. I 28 (late third century) and 38 (mid fourth century) and the account stands on the back of 3499 (c. A.D. 298?). The text seems to have been an account of thread or other spun material, see 1 n. on νηματι[. At present little can be made of it.

λόγο(ν.)ς νηματι[

διὰ Καρμάτου πα[

κὲ παρὰ Ἀθανα[είου

κὲ παρὰ τῶν θα. [

(vac.)

5 κὲ ἄλλης ἀγωγῆ[ς

Καρμάτης (vac.) [

Θῶνις (vac.) [

Κοπρεύς (vac.) [

. . . . .

2 η corr. ex incert. 3-5 I. καί

'Account of thread(?)...through Sarmates from(?)...and from Athanasius...and from the... Another load...Sarmates, Thonis, Copreus...'

1 λόγο(ν.)ς. The writer avoided a place where a vertical fibre is missing.

νηματι[. Though interrupted in the middle, the tall vertical, which also descends slightly below the base-line, looks unlikely to be anything other than iota. The only recorded possibility is νηματικός, which occurs once in Athenaeus *Mechanicus*, see C. Wescher, *Paliocritique des Grecs*, p. 34 line 7. Since νέω means to spin, the description by LSJ of the ὄπλον νηματικόν as 'a band of plaited rope or webbing' must be wrong. The material was spun.

The two references to *vḥma* in Daris, *Spoglio*, lead to epitaphs which mention the thread of Fate, but *vḥm( )* occurs once in the papyri to mean thread, P. Masp. III 67339. *ἰ λό(γος) vḥm(άτων?) καὶ κτημ(όνων)*, and once in P. Lond. IV 1433. 25, where thread looks unlikely. At this point the account mentions boats, woods of various kinds, ropes, and perhaps stakes of wood. The *vḥm( )*, of which two hundredweights cost five *solidi*, looks likely to have been cordage of some different material than the rush ropes, *χοιδ(ν- )*, mentioned along with it.

The form \**vḥmáτων* is not yet recorded, but may be thought as likely here as *vḥματικός*.

2 *πα[ρά]* looks likely, cf. 3-4.

4 *θα*, [. The traces at the end are much confused and damaged. Perhaps a name stood here, though most names in *Θα-* are feminine, and the other names in the piece are masculine.

6-8 To the right of the names is a tall narrow blot, which extends to the broken foot, and other scattered flecks of ink.

## VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

## 3503. DOUBLE LETTER

34 B. 76/K (10)b

9 × 14.5 cm.

Later first century A.D.

The lower part of a double letter. The papyrus is broken at the top and a small amount is also missing from the left-hand edge. The bottom too is broken and stripped, but the last line on the papyrus contains at least the beginning of a farewell formula. The back is blank.

A date by month and day is given in line 5. The hand looks first century, and this is supported by the use of epistolary formulas which are found only up to the end of the first century, see 3-4 n. The date can perhaps be narrowed down further, for the first prefect to adopt the title *κράτιςτος*, which occurred in line 8, was L. Iulius Vestinus (A.D. 59-62), cf. 3464 28 n.

Lines 1-5 preserve the close of a letter addressed to a woman. Leaving a slight space the writer began a new letter addressed to Zoilus, his 'brother'. This is a term which is often just epistolary usage and it need not imply any relationship, cf. XIV 1665 2 n., XVII 2148 introd. Examples of two or more letters written on the same sheet of papyrus and addressed to different members of a household are not uncommon, e.g. P. Tebt. II 416, VII 1067, XXI 2599, SB III 6263, cf. J. G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri*, 49.

In lines 8-11 the writer refers to a pronouncement by the prefect of Egypt, perhaps ordering that complaints against the strategus were to be heard in Alexandria by the prefect himself.

Lines 11-14 mention a problem over boundaries involving the inhabitants of a village called Psobthis.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .]. [ . . . . . ]. [ . . . . . ]. [ . . . . . ]. [ . . . . . ]  
 . . . . . ], α φρόντιστον. πρ[ὸ] πάντων σε-  
 αυτής] ἐπιμέλου. ἔρρωσο κυρία  
 . . . . . ], ου Τεχωσοῦν. (vac.)  
 5 ] (vac.) Φαμενώθ κ̄.  
 . . . . . ], Ζωίλω τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
 ] χαίρειν.  
 ὁ κρά]τ[ι]ςτος ἡγεμὼν εἴρηκεν [τ]οῦς  
 . . . . . ] ντας πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς 'Α-



## 3505. PAPONTOS TO ALEXANDER

43 5B. 66/F (3)a

14.2 × 34.5 cm.

Second century?

With its twenty-eight lines written along the fibres, the papyrus is complete with all four margins preserved, but lines 20–2 have suffered extensive damage. The letter was folded in half horizontally along line 20, which has almost disappeared because of this. There are six vertical folds which were presumably made when the papyrus was rolled after folding and the roll flattened. There are no signs of a sheet join.

The hand is a large, sprawling, upright cursive, difficult to date. The greeting formula points to the middle of the first century as the earliest possibility, see 1 n.

Παποντώς (vac.) Ἀλεξάνδρω τῶ ἰδίῳ

(vac.) χαίρειν.

διεπεμψάμην σοι διὰ Διδύμου δέρματα

βότια – τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν μεταδώσει σοι

5 ὁ αὐτὸς Δίδυμος – καὶ ψιάθους ἐμοῦ μόνου με-

μιλτομέ[ ]νας λη, κ[ο]ινωνιμέας

μεθ' Ἑρακλείδου πῶ ὦν τὸ ἤ[μ]ε[ ] μ' ἰσὺ ἐ-

τιν ἐμοῦ, τῆς διαπάνης πάσης τῶν

τε βοτίων καὶ πασῶν τῶν ψιάθων

10 ὄσως πρὸς Ἑρακλείδην. τὰ ἀργύρια ἐὰν

συνλέξῃς εὐθέως διὰ ἐπιθήκης διαπέμ-

ψαι μοι. δηλοσὸν μοι πόσα βότια παρέ-

λεβης καὶ πόσης τιμῆς πιπράσκειτε,

καὶ πόσαι ψιάθοι ἀπόκεινται ἀπὸ τοῦ

15 προτέρου φορτίου, καὶ σὺν τούτοις πόσαι

ἀπόκεινται. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα διὰ τοῦ

αὐτοῦ Διδύμου δηλώσει μοι. εὐθέως δὲ

τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ

πλῖον παρέλκηται παρὰ σοί. . . . . τω

20 [ c. 12 letters ] . . . . . ἀλλ. [ . . . ] , ερα

[ c. 12 ] δὲ ἐπιθήκην [ . . . ] , ἡδοικ

[ . . . ] [ . . . . . . . . . . ] Διοσκοουρίδην καὶ [ . . . ] τιν

δια [ . . . . . . . . . . ] ν πέμψον μοι. ἀσ[πά]ζονται

σε Σαραπιάς καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες. ἀσπάσο-

25 μέ σε Διονύσιος. (m. 2) ἔρ<ρ>ωσο.

(vac.)

(m. 1) ιε (ἔτους) Μεχειρ ζ

(vac.)

εἴ τινος ἐὰν δέηται ἀργυρ[ίου] Πausανίας

ὁ ναυτικός, δός, καὶ δῆ[λωσόν] μοι πόσα ἔλαβε.

Back, upwards:

Ἀλεξάνδρω (design) παρὰ Παπρωτῶτος

4 l. βότεια, μεταδώσει 5–6 l. μεμιλωμένας 6 l. κοινωνιμέας 9 l. βοτίων 11 l. συν-  
λέξῃς 12 l. δηλοσὸν μοι, βότεια 12–13 l. παρέλαβες 13 l. πιπράσκειται 15 v of τούτοις corr.  
from ι; l. ταύταις? 17 l. δηλώσεις 19 l. πλείον 24–5 l. ἀσπάζομαι σε

'Papontos to his own Alexander, greetings. I have sent you through Didymus some sheepskins – the same Didymus will let you know how many of them there are – and some mats, of which thirty-eight, dyed red, belong to me alone, eighty-two I own together with Heracleides; half of these are mine, but all the expense for the sheepskins and for all the mats is for Heracleides to pay. If you collect the money, send it to me at once by letter of credit. Tell me how many sheepskins you received and at what price they are selling, and how many mats are in stock from the last shipment and how many are in stock counting these. You are to let me know all this through the same Didymus. Let the same Didymus go at once, so that he may not be detained longer with you. . . . letter of credit . . . to (?) Dioscurides and . . . send me . . . Sarapias and all those in the household greet you. I, Dionysius, greet you. (2nd hand) Farewell. (1st hand) 15th year, Mecheir 6th.

If the boatman Pausanias needs any money, give (it to him), and let me know how much he got.'

Back. 'To Alexander from Papontos.'

1 F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 31, collects instances of τῶ ἰδίῳ in the opening formulas. He has ten examples ranging from A.D. 50 to the second century. According to H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes*, 104, the word does not indicate any family connexion and letters beginning in this way are said often to concern economic affairs. The present letter is clearly not an exception. There is a strong suspicion that this use of ἰδίος might be a translation of Latin *suus*.

4 βότεια (= βότεια), cf. 9, 12. The word βότεια has occurred so far only in P. Fay. 107. 4 referring to fleeces (κίβητα). Since that papyrus comes from Philadelphia, the fact that the writer was called Papontos must be dismissed as coincidence.

5–6 μεμιλωμέ[ ]νας. It seems that the writer found the sheet damaged at this point. The verb μιλωμαι is new in the papyri; for references to μιλωμαι see S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*, II s.v.

11 On ἐπιθήκη see F. Preisigke, *Griechisches*, 204–5, XLIII 3146 8 n., 3092 9 n.

12–13 παρέλαβες (= παρέλαβες). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 244–6 (ε > η), 278–82 (α > ε).

15 We expect ταύταις rather than τούτοις, but the present consignment includes δέρματα as well as ψιάθοι and he may have intended to ask for an account of both.

19 After σοί we appear to have tau with a superscript delta. If the delta was intended to replace the tau, the intended words may have been δὲς ἀντῶ.

24–5 ἀσπάσομαι (= ἀσπάσομαι) σε Διονύσιος. Dionysius is apparently the writer of the letter, as distinct from the sender Papontos, whose clumsy and ill-spelled farewell stands in 25. See H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae*, II 1010 (= *BICS* 11 (1964) 24) for the elucidation of a parallel in P. Merton II 82. 19–20, Σαραπιάμων [δ] σε ἀσπάσομαι, and a similar passage in P. Mich. VIII 482. 8 ff., Περσεύς ὁ γράφων μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀσπάξεται σοί (= ἀσπάξεται σε) λίαν λίαν. Another example may be XLII 3057 29, i.e. perhaps read Λεωνάς ἀσπάσομαι σε, δέσποτα.

26 The form of ζ is that with a tail, which looks like the printed version. This is rarer in the papyri than the form which looks like a lunate sigma, but is not a good indication of date, see U. Wilcken, *Observationes*, 49–50.

## 3506. HARBAETHUS TO THERMUTHION

A 4B. 5A/7

9.1 × 22.4 cm.

Third century

Harbaethus writes to his daughter Thermuthion reproving her for not acting in accordance with his instructions. The context remains obscure, in part due to the damaged condition of 8–10. Further down, Harbaethus declares that he will hold his daughter and two others responsible if they do not make reparation. It is not clear if the subject-matter remains the same in the lower part of the letter, where Harbaethus writes that he hopes to settle an affair regarding his children before the *archiereus*.

The practised semi-cursive hand may be assigned to the third century. Cf. VII 1019 = E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, no. 66; PSI v 472 = M. Norsa, *Scritt. doc.*, pl. XIXd. The address is written along the fibres on the back.

Ἄρβαίθος Τερμουθίῳ  
 τῇ θυγατρὶ χαίρειν.  
 ἄλλα ἔστιν ἃ ἐγὼ ἔγρα-  
 ψά σοι ποιῆσαι, ἄλλα ἐ-  
 5 στὶν ἃ σὺ ἔπραξας. γείνωσ-  
 κ[ε] ὅψν ὅτι ἔμαθόν σε ἐν  
 Ἄρ[σο]ῦτι ἀναβεβη[κ]έναι  
 [ c. 5 letters ] . . ρ . μ εν . [ . ] .  
 [ c. 7 ] [ . . ν ρ τ ε ] ἄρα εὐ  
 10 ρ[ c. 7 ] . . . παρ' [ ἡ ] μ ε ἰ ν  
 καὶ βεβασιάζετε. ταῦ-  
 τα ἄποκαταστήσαν-  
 τες ὅ[υ]πον ἔκειτο. [[α]]  
 εἰ δ' ἄρα μή, πρ[ὸ]ς σὲ καὶ  
 15 Ἄρσοῦν καὶ Θομφόνην ἐ-  
 τὶν μου ὁ λόγος. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθῆ-  
 τε ἄχρι οὗ ἀγαθῶ πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ εἰς λόγος ἔσται.  
 ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ τὴν ἐκάσ-  
 20 του γνώμην. ὅταν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
 προέλθῃ φροντιῶ πῶς  
 ἀπαρτισθῆ τὸ περὶ τῶν  
 τέκνων μου. λέγεται δὲ

## 3506. HARBAETHUS TO THERMUTHION

ὅτι κατ' ὄνομα τῶν παιδίων  
 25 αἰτοῦσι ἀνά (δραχμὰς) ρκ' ἐν τοσού-  
 τῳ ὅν δήλωσόν μοι ἵνα  
 εἰδῶ. ἄσπασαι Διονυσίαν καὶ  
 Παμοῦνην. ἐρρώσθ(αι) εὐχομαι(αι).

Back, upwards:

ἀπόδ(ος) Θερμουθίῳ ἀπό (cross) Ἄρ[β]α[ί]θο[υ] πατρὸς

1 I. Θερμουθίῳ 5-6 γεινώσκ[ε] 10 I. ἡμῖν 18 ὑμας 24 παιδιῶν 25-6 σ of τοσούτω  
 corr. 26 ἵνα 28 ἐρρώσθ'εὐχομαι 29 ἀποδ

'Harbaethus to his daughter Thermuthion, greetings. What I have written to you to do is one thing, what you have done is another. Know then that I learnt that you together with Harsus went up... in our possession and you appropriated them. Put them back(?) where they were; if you do not, I shall hold you and Harsus and Thompsois responsible. But if you put them back any time before I come up, no responsibility whatever shall fall on you: for I know the disposition of each one (of you). Whenever the *archiereus* comes forth, I shall see how the matter regarding my children may be settled. It is said that they are demanding 120 drachmas per child. In the meantime, then, inform me that I may know. Greet Dionysia and Pamunis. I pray for (your) health.'

(Back) 'Deliver to Thermuthion from Harbaethus her father.'

1 Θερμουθίῳ: a variant for the commoner Θερμουθίῳ, cf. 29.

7 Ἄρ[σο]ῦτι: cf. 15.

9-10 Possibly εὐρήκατε?

12-13 Perhaps ἀποκαταστήσει(ν)τε(ς) was intended, especially since the persons concerned are women.

13 ὅ[υ]πον: i.e., if correct, οὐδ' corr. to ὅπου?

14 For εἰ δὲ μή as a self-standing protasis cf. SB III 6299. 3.

16 λόγος: cf. e.g. SB X 10293. 23.

20 ff. The mention of the *archiereus* poses the question: is the circumcision of the writer's children possibly the issue? But that implies a change of subject-matter from the first half of the letter, far from certain. The misdoings of the first half (e.g. βεβασιάζετε, 11) may have had to do with temple property. For the *archiereus* see P. J. Parsons, *CE* 49 (1974) 135-57.

28 For the absence of pronoun from the closing greeting see F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, 336 n. 1.

29 Between ἀπό and Ἄρ[β]α[ί]θο[υ] a cross in the form of four oblique lines nearly converging at a centre, perhaps marking the point where a seal was affixed: cf. Ziemann, op cit. 282. The centre of the cross is missing, as often. See XLVIII 3396 32 n.

## 3507. APOLLONIUS TO SARAPODORUS

12 1B. 139/E(b)

13 × 30.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

This letter is mainly concerned with matters of business, both municipal and commercial. In the first part of the letter Sarapodorus is asked, presumably in his capacity as exegetes, to look out for the interests of one Andromachus when the βουλή comes to apportioning days of duty among the panel of gymnasiarchs. On the municipal βουλαί and their functions see E. P. Wegener, *Mnemosyne* 1 (1948) 15-42, 115-32, 297-326; *Symbolae Van Oven*, 160-90; A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*; and A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, 484-5 n. 40.

After dealing with commercial matters relating to wine and carpets the letter takes up the subject of an appeal made in connexion with the office of the *procurator usiacus*. It may well be that, besides their municipal responsibilities, the brothers also had a responsibility to the central government as *μικθωται ούσιακοί*, see 32 n.

There are three main indications of the approximate date; the appearance of the *procurator usiacus*, the reference to 'new' coinage, and the price of wine. G. M. Parássoglou (*Imperial Estates*, 85) finds the latest reference to the *ratio usiaca* in A.D. 285 and concludes that it disappeared in the reforms of Diocletian. References to 'new' and 'old' coinage cover the period A.D. 266–302, see 31 n. The price of wine does not specify the quantity, but if it cost as much as 900 or 1,000 drachmas per ceramion, as seems likely, the date cannot be much, if at all, prior to A.D. 300.

χαίρε, κύριέ μου ἀδελφε Σαραπόδωρε,  
 Ἄπολλωνίος σε προσαγορεύω(ι).  
 ἐπιστολήν Ἀνδρομάχου ἔπεμψά σοι  
 ὅπως ἀναδῶς καὶ τὴν ἀντιγραφήν  
 5 ἐν τάχει ἡμῖν πέμψῃς. ἡ δὲ ἀξίωσις  
 αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ τηρηθῆναι αὐ-  
 τῷ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς ἀναδοχῆς τῆ[ς  
 10 γυμνασιαρχ[ί]α[ς], καί, εἰ μὲν οἶόν τε  
 ἔστιν, [[τ]ᾶς ἐκ περιεσοῦ ἡμέρας ἡναγ-  
 κάσθη ποιήσαι[ι π]έρυσι, παραδεχθῆ-  
 ναι αὐτῷ εἰς [τὰς ἐ]φετίους μὴ ὀκνή-  
 15 τῃς. εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν  
 τηρηθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα. τοῦτο  
 γὰρ καὶ δικαιοτάτον. ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς περὶ  
 τοῦ οἴνου οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐνήργησεν  
 οὔτε ἀπήτησεν. ἐδόκει δὲ χαράσσε-  
 20 θαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ οἴνου  
 ἐνταῦθα πάντῃ ἐν κατυφέσει ἐστιν.  
 μέχρι γὰρ (δραχμῶν) Ἄ καὶ λ τυγχάνει, ὥστε,  
 εἰ δύνατόν σοί ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 τὸν Ἀκωρεί[τ]ην ἀξιώσαι[ι] ὅπως  
 διὰ πλοίου αὐτ[ο]ῦ . . ἤσῃ [μ]οι ἐνε-  
 χθῆναι κἂν [δ]ῶρον ἔῃ [ε]ῦρησ  
 εἰς ἃ γράφεις, ἰσο[ί]σον'. ο[ἱ] μέντοι Ἀντινοῖτι-

25 κοὶ ἐκδοχεῖς ἐπ[ε]τάξαντό μοι ὅτι,  
 ἢ συνωνούμεθα τὰ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 τιμῆς ἢ ἀποφέρομεν τῷ ἀδελ-  
 φῷ σου αὐτά'. τοὺς τάπητας ἐξέ-  
 30 δωκα. ὁ γὰρ σημιογράφος οὐκ ἔ-  
 δωκέν μοι τ[ά]πητα. ὑπέσχετο  
 μέντοι δώσε[ι]ν μοι (δραχμὰς) ρ̄. καινοῦ.  
 εἶδέναι μέντοι ὀφείλεις ὅτι  
 προσελθεῖν [ς] δεῖ ἕνεκεν τῆς ἐκ-  
 κλήτου πρὸ τῆ[ς] προθεσμίας κατὰ  
 35 τὸ διάταγμα. [ἔ]στιν τῆς οὐσιακῆ[ς]  
 ἐπιτροπῆς ὀφθικιάλιος ἐνθάδε  
 ζητῶν πρ[ό]ς τιμον ἐκκλήτων,

Left margin, downwards:

ὁς καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖ ἕνεκεν τῆς τότε πρὸς τὸν οὐσιακὸν περὶ χειρογρ(αφ-)  
 (ταλάντων) ς καὶ μέχρι νῦν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδέπω οὐδὲν ἐπράξαμεν, ἐὰν δέ τι καινότερον προχθῆ,  
 40 δηλωθήσεται σοι. ἀπά-  
 ζεται σε τὰ τεκνία ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν πάντες. ἐρρώσθαί  
 σε εὐχομαι, κύριέ μου.

Back, downwards:

Σαραποδώρωι (design) ἐξηγητή  
 π(αρά) Ἀπολλωνίου.

5 l. ἡμῖν 10-11 παραδεχθῆναι 11 l. ἐπετείους 18 l. καθυφέσει 19 σ' Α  
 21 l. Ἀκωρείτην 24-5 αντινοῖτικοι 31 ρ̄. 38 l. ἡμῖν; χειρογρς 42 π'

'Greetings, my lord brother Sarapodorus. I, Apollonius, salute you. I have sent Andromachus' letter to you so that you may present it and send us the reply quickly. His request is about having the decree on the undertaking of the gymnasiarchy observed in his case. Also, if it is possible, do not hesitate to have the extra days which he was compelled to serve last year credited to him towards those of the present year, but if not that, at any rate to have the decree observed from now on. For this is indeed the most just course.

Achilles has neither taken any action about the wine nor has he exacted any payment. But it was decided to make a written contract (?) in respect of this (i.e. wine?). The price of wine here is very much in decline. For it is as low as 1,000 or 900 drachmas, so that, if it is possible for you to ask Alexander the Acorite to have (?) as much as you can find brought for me on his boat to the places you mention in your letter, do so. However, the middlemen from Antinoopolis have given me their instructions as follows, "We either buy up your goods at the same price or we return them to your brother".

I gave the carpets out. For the shorthand writer did not give me a carpet. However, he promised to give me ninety... drachmas of new coinage.



However, you ought to know that you must go before the tribunal about the appeal before the end of the appointed time according to the ordinance. There is an official of the department of the *procurator iusticus* here seeking the deposit for appeals, who is also pestering us about the former (appeal) against (?) the procurator concerning the contract(s?) for six talents, and up to now we have not taken any action regarding him, but if anything new is done, you will be informed. Our children and their mother and all our household greet you. I pray that you are well, my lord.

Back. 'To Sarapodorus, exegetes, from Apollonius.'

1-2 For the opening formula see F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography*, 35-6, 60-8, 74-5.

No Sarapodorus is listed as a bouleutes in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, App. 1, but one has appeared subsequently in XLIII 3110 2 (c. A.D. 253-7). That man, Aurelius Apollonius alias Sarapodorus, could possibly be identified with either of the correspondents here, or might be a member of the same family. Note that there is also an 'Ανδρμαχ. [ in 3110 11, see here 3 n.

Although XXXVI 2768 also mentions an Apollonius and an Achilles, the names are common ones and we cannot suppose a connexion.

3 No Andromachus is listed in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*. Cf. 1-2 n.

4 ἀναδῶρ. Possibly the letter was to be delivered to the boule or to the prytanis for tabling on the agenda of the boule. As exegetes Sarapodorus may have had a particular interest in and responsibility for the smooth running of the gymnasiarchy, cf. I 54, in which contractors apply for reimbursement for repairs done on the baths to the exegetes as well as the gymnasiarch (see P. Jouquet, *Vie municipale*, 309-12), or XXXI 2569, where exegetae are responsible for supervising the provision of water to the baths (cf. VI 891). P. Ryl. II 77, in which an exegetes and gymnasiarch jointly sign a letter to the strategus, is probably not helpful in this connexion; as the editors point out (52 n.), they are acting as representatives of the whole κοινόν, not as officials jointly responsible for a particular administrative area.

On the other hand Sarapodorus may be expected to act on Andromachus' behalf simply because he is a friend who could be influential; for a good parallel for the exegetes upholding the rights of a liturgist in a council meeting cf. XII 1415 i 20 seqq.

5-13 The gymnasiarchy became a shared liturgy in the second century and remained so until the end of the third century, when it rapidly declined in importance as an office (B. Van Groningen, *Le Gymnasiarque*, 86-101, *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès Int. de Papyrologie*, 505-11). It was one of the duties of the boule to apportion days of service among the college of gymnasiarchs (A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 109-21; cf. XXXVI 2796 - contributions by several gymnasiarchs to the cost of heating the baths). On the rôle of the gymnasium see F. Delorme, *Gymnasium* (Paris, 1960), 421-80, especially 430 seqq., with *JEA* 47 (1961) 144 n. 26 for corrections to the Egyptian evidence.

8-9 εἰ μὲν οὖν τε ἐστίν. The words seem to indicate that for a gymnasiarch to carry over days of service from one year of office to the next was possible but not assured. XII 1413 19-24 may represent another instance of such a carrying over; a gymnasiarch who was to have provided oil on 30 Mesore failed to do so but made up for it by paying for oil for the following 1 Thoth. It is not known though whether his year of office was coterminous with the calendar year. Van Groningen, op. cit. sect. 28, believed that the liturgist's year of service regularly began and ended at the same time as the calendar year, but N. Lewis, *Proc. IX Int. Congr. Papyrol.* 239-42 and *TAPA* 100 (1969) 255-60, has now shown that this was not always the case.

10-11 πῆρσι. . . ἐκ [τὰς ἐ]φετίους (= ἐπετείους). Andromachus was therefore gymnasiarch for at least two successive years, although he would have been in office for only a few days in each year. This situation was not unusual in the third century, cf. XII 1418 15 n.

παραδεχ' ἄθρηαι. For the apostrophe used to separate consonants see E. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, 62 and E. G. Turner, *GMAW* 13 n. 3.

16-17 The meaning of the sentence ἐδόκει . . . ἐπὶ τούτῳ remains obscure. The translation offers what is only a guess. Mr Parsons suggests instead, 'He seemed to be getting annoyed about it'. Cf. LSJ s.v. χαράσσω I 3.

18 καθυφέει (= καθυφέει). The word is rare and new in the papyri. For the false aspiration see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I 133-8.

19 The prices are probably those of a standard jar (κεράμιον). Third-century prices listed in

A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 315 (cf. 466), are generally much lower, say c. 50 dr. per ceramion. Fourth-century prices show a rapid rise, see A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 178 80; *ZPE* 24 (1977) 116-17, though there are very few examples of wine prices from the early part of the century. Some time in the reign of Diocletian, A.D. 284-305, seems suitable.

21 On Acoris see now M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 291-6.

22 . . . ἤστ. We expect ποτήστ, see translation, but the remains of a horizontal below the base line suggest only xi as the first or second letter. It may be stray ink, or part of an interlinear insertion.

25 ἐκδοχεῖ. The meaning of this term is discussed by P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II 319-20, n. 428, but their function is still not clear. For a connexion with the marketing of wine cf. XIV 1673 7-10.

28 τάπητας. On carpets and carpet making in Egypt see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, 121, S. Calderini in *Aeg.* 26 (1946) 13-83, E. Wipszyska, *L'Industrie textile*, 118-19.

28-29 ἐξέδωκα. He may mean, 'I gave out to contract'. In XXXI 2593 17 the word is used of sending out wool to be spun.

30-1 It might be better to expand to (δραχμῶν) rather than (δραχμάς) and translate, 'However, he promised to give me (sc. a carpet) of the value of ninety . . . drachmas'.

31 καινω (sc. νομίσματος). For dated instances of this coinage, ranging from A.D. 266 to 302, see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 69, and add XXXVI 2587 and 2600.

32-9 The involvement of the correspondents with the *ratio usiaca* (on which see W. Grz. 153-8, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 482, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 338-9, and most lately G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates*, esp. 84-90) may be best explained by the hypothesis that they have contracted with the treasury to undertake the cultivation of usiac land as μεθιωται οὔσιακοί.

33 On the legal meaning of προσελθεῖν, 'appear before a tribunal', see XXXI 2601 9 n.

33-4 τῆς ἐκκλήτου (sc. δικῆς). According to R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>3</sup>, 521-2, the term is used only of appeals to the prefect, with the exception of IX 1204, an appeal to the catholicus.

37 πρός[ε]τιμον ἐκκλήτων. Cf. CPR v 5. 3 n., where it is suggested that it is a deposit or surety rather than a fine.

38 ἔνεκεν τῆς τότε πρὸς τὸν οὔσιακόν. It seems clear that ἐκκλήτου is to be understood with τῆς. The phrase ἐκαλείσθαι πρὸς (τὴν) ἀπόφασιν (XLIII 3117 21, P. Beatty Panop. I. 272-3) suggests that the appeal was 'against' the procurator rather than 'to' him, see CPR v 5. 10 n.

χειρογραφ(α)φ—. Probably this refers to a contract or contracts for leasing usiac property. Six talents (36,000 dr.) may be the value of the contract, but it is not a very large sum if 1,000 dr. is a low price for one ceramion of wine, see 19 and n., so that it may rather be the amount of the deposit, cf. CPR v 5. 3 n.

41 The design, which probably indicated the place of a seal, is in essence a square box with diagonals. The ink is missing from the area where the diagonals should have intersected. See XLVIII 3396 33 n. for a possible explanation; cf. 3506 29 n.

41-2 Line 41 is in a good large cursive, 40 in a small rapid one. It looks as if they are by different writers, but it would be more normal for the address to be written by one person only.



[ονομα|ε]τος εγενετο ουτ ε 330a  
 [κ]εινος Αθηναιος'  
 [κ]φι τοις δη μη πλου  
 [ει]ρις χαλεπως δε  
 5 [το] γηρας φερουσιν  
 [ε]ν εχει ο αυτος λο  
 γος· οτι ουτ' αν επι  
 εικης πανυ ραιδι  
 [ω]ς γηρας μετα πε  
 10 νιας ενεγκοι ουθ' ο  
 [μ]ητε επιεικης πλου  
 [τ]ηρας ευκολος πο  
 [τ α]ν ε'ν' αυτω γενοι  
 [το π]οτερο[ν] δε ην  
 15 [δ εγ]ω[ι] ω Κεφαλε ων  
 [κεκ]τησαι τα πλει  
 [ω πα]ρελαβες η επε  
 [κτης]ω' ποι επεκτη  
 20 [σαμ]ην εφη ω ζω  
 [γεγονα]ι χρηματι  
 [κτης τ]ου τε παπ  
 [που και τ]ου πατρος·  
 [ο μεν γα]ρ παππος  
 25 [τε και α]μψνυμος  
 [εμοι σ]χεδο[ν] τι ο  
 [σην εγω ν]ην ουσι  
 [αν κεκτ]ημαι πα  
 [ραλαβω]ν πολλακις  
 30 [τοσαυ]την εποιη

330b

7 Burnet, Chambry: δ after αν. 8 Burnet, Chambry: πάνυ τι 11 [μ]ητε: Burnet, Chambry  
 μή. Scribe's error, probably influenced by line 10 οὐθ' 13 ε'ν' αυτω: Burnet, Chambry εαυτῶ. Stob.  
 ἐν εαυτῶ (Chambry, app.). The scribe apparently corrected his first version εαυτῶ into ἐν αὐτῶ.

3510. Notice of the deaths of slaves. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978)  
 198–200, with Tafel VIIA. 20 3B. 34/B (1–3)a. 9.5 × 19.7 cm. A.D. 79/80. The back is  
 blank.

Ἀπολλοφάνει καὶ Διογένει γρα(μματεῦσι) πόλεως  
 παρὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀπίωνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀ-  
 ξυρύγχων πόλεως. οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι  
 ἐφ' ἧς ἔχω οἰκίας ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Λυκίων  
 5 παρεμβολῆς Ἀμαραντὸς δούλος τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ μου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Διογένη(ς)  
 δούλος τῆς γυναικὸς μου Βερενείκης  
 τῆς Βιθαρίωνος ἀφήλις ἀμφότεροι  
 ἄτεχνοι ἐτελεύτησαν τῶ ἔνεστῶτι  
 10 ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, καὶ ὀμνύω  
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Οὐεσπασιανὸν  
 Σεβαστὸν ἐπ' ἀληθείας αὐτοὺς τετελευ-  
 τηκέναι ὡς πρόκειται. ἀξιῶ οὖν  
 15 ἀναγράψεσθαι τούτους ἐν τῇ τάξει  
 τῶν τετε[λ]ευτηκότων τοῦ ἀ[τ]ρ[ο]ῦ  
 ἔτους ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν [ό]μοίων.  
 (m. 2) Διογένη[ς σε]ς[ημ]είωμαι). (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκρ[ρ]άτορ[ρο]ς  
 Κ[αίσαρος Οὐεσπ]ασιανῶ  
 20 [Σεβαστοῦ month] δ.

1 γρ' 6 διογεν'; ε in corr. 7 Βερ corr. from Πρ 11 ὀμνύω after ομνύω horizontal stroke  
 to fill the line 14 after οὖν horizontal stroke to fill the line 15 τούτους: first τ corr. from α.

'To Apollophanes and Diogenes, city scribes, from Herodes, son of Apion, from the city of  
 Oxyrhynchus. The slaves registered at the house I have in the Lycians' Camp quarter, Amarantos, slave  
 of my brother Herakleides, and Diogenes, slave of my wife Berenike, daughter of Bitharion, minor, both  
 without a trade, died in the present eleventh year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, and I swear  
 by Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that they are in truth dead as aforesaid. I request therefore  
 that you inscribe them in the list of those who have died in the same year as in like cases. (2nd hand)  
 I, Diogenes [have certified] in the 11th year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus [month, day].'

3511. Private Account. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 200-4, with Tafel viIb. 16 2B. 47/D(a). 9.3 × 29.8 cm. First half of fourth century A.D. The account occupies the back and the top and bottom margin of 3509.

Col. i	Col. ii
	'Απολλωνίου εἰς λόγ[ον
	Κολλουθέργς . ις[
	Σιλβανού ὀγγελ[του
	Παθερμουτίου α[
	15 (vac.) καλαμιά[
	Παθατρήτι α[
	τιμῆς ζευκτη[ριῶν
	'Απολλωνίου εἰς λόγον
	Παθερμουτίου υ[
	20 (vac.) καλαμ[ία
	καταβολῆς κ[
	[. . .]ησίου κατα . [
	Παησίου ὑπὲρ τιμ[ῆς
	κοφωρία καλαμ[ίας
	25 (vac.) κκάπτοντα ε[
	κοφωρία καὶ α[
	ὀνηλάται ιη[ς κς[
	παραχαραξος κ[
	τιμῆς ἤλος ἐχυσια[ίος
	30 τιμῆ'ς' λινοκαλάμ[ης
	Θράωνι ἀγρ[ο]φύλ[ακι
	τιμῆς ταπητ' ἴων [
	φώρου πωμαρίων [
	τιμῆς βουός [

A (Text on the bottom margin of 3509):

35 λόγος πρ[  
μεταφωρ[ᾶς  
τιμῆς οἴνου  
τιμῆς οἴνου]

B (Text on the top margin of 3509):

40 ], αησις χαλγισα[  
]α παρ' ἐμοῦ [. . .]. [

]ας διὰ ημ[  
]νιου ῥίνου διαχε, ουελ[  
] ὀνι κτήμων (δραχμαί) φ[

10 l. πλοίου(?). A curved vertical stroke below the last line 12-15 two deleted letters above the line beginnings 13 l. ὀνηλά[του 18 ἀπολλωνιο' 19 υ[ 21 l. καταβολῆς 23 ὑπερ 24 l. κοφωρία 26 l. κοφωρία 27 l. ὀνηλάται 29 l. ἐχυσια[ίος 33 l. φώρου 34 l. βοός(?) 36 l. μεταφωρ[ᾶς 43 l. ὀνη κτήμονος(?)

3512. Sale of wine. Published by R. Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 205-7, with Tafel viIIa, b. 14 1 B. 209/C(f). 15.6 × 29.8 cm. 27 February A.D. 492.

† Μετ[ὰ τ]ῆν ὑπατείαν Φλα(ουίου) Δογγίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ β/  
Φαμενώ(θ) β' ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιε ἐν 'Οξυρυγ(ων).

Φλ[α(ουίω) 'Ι]ωάννη τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ  
υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου(υ)  
5 γεουχ[ο]ῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ 'Οξυρυγχιτῶν Αὐρήλιος  
Πανεχώτης υἱὸς Μουσήτος μητρὸς Ἄννας  
ἀπὸ ἐποικείου 'Ιππονάμου κτήμ[α]τος τῆς  
ςῆς εὐγενείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἐναπόγραφος  
χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν  
10 τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημέν[η]ν  
καὶ ἀρέσασάν μοι τιμὴν πλήρης οἴν[ο]υ ση-  
κωμάτων τῷ γεουχικῷ σηκώ[ματ]ι ἐξήκοντα  
τρία, γίνε(ται) οἴν(ου) σηκ(ωμάτων) ξγ, ὄνπερ οἴνου παρὰ ληνῶν  
ἀπὸ γλαύκου ἀδόλου σου παρέχοντος τὰ  
15 κοῦφα ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τῇ σῇ εὐγενείᾳ  
ἐν τῷ Μεσορῆ μηνί τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ρξη ρλξ  
ἐκ ῥύσεως οἴνου τῆς σὺν θεῷ πρώτης

ἰνδικτίονος ἀνυπερθέτως, γιγνομένης σοι  
 τῆς εἰσπράξεως παρά τε ἑμοῦ καὶ ἔκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 20 μοι πάντων. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν  
 γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος  
 Πανεχώσιος υἱὸς Μουσήτος ὁ προκείμενος  
 ἔσχον τὴν τιμὴν πλήρης οἴνου σηκωμάτων  
 ἐξήκοντα τρία καὶ ἀποδώσω ἐν τῇ προθε-  
 25 μί[α] καὶ συμφωνίᾳ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται). Αὐρήλιος  
 Παπνούθιος Φοιβάμμωνος ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.  
 (m. 3) ✕ δι' ἑμοῦ . . . εου . . .

Back (m. 4) ✕ γρ(αμματεῖον) Πανεχώτο(υ) υἱοῦ Μουσήτος ἀπὸ  
 ἐποικ(ίου) Ἰππογάμου οἴν(ου) σηκ(ωμάτων) ξγ †

1 ὑπ-λαμπρ/ 2 ἰδ/ 3 ]'ωανη 6 υἱος 7 ἰ. ἐποικίου ἰπ'ποναμου, ου (in correction) has  
 larger letters in a brownish ink 13 γι/ οινς 14 ἰ. γλεύκου 18 ἰδ- ἀνυπερ- 20 ἰ. γραμμα-  
 τεῖον 21 ὠμολ/ 21-2 a paragraphus on the left side between the two lines marks the beginning of  
 the signature 25 ἰ. συμφωνεῖ προκ/ 29 γρ/ πανεχωτο' υἱου εποικ/ ἰπ'ποναμου οιν' σηκ/

'In the year after the second consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Longinus, Phamenoth 2,  
 15th indiction at Oxyrhynchus. To Flavius Johannes, the venerable member of the council, son of  
 Martyrios of revered memory, landholder here at Oxyrhynchus, Aurelios Panechotes, son of Mouses  
 and Anna, from the hamlet of Hipponamos, of the estate of your nobility in the same nome and there  
 registered, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you on the spot the price jointly agreed  
 upon and accepted by me, in full, of sixty-three sekomata of wine measured by the estate-sekoma, total  
 63 sekomata of wine. I shall be bound to deliver this wine to your nobility at the wine-press in the form of  
 unadulterated must, you providing the jars, in the month Mesore of the present year 168 = 137  
 from the wine-pressing of the, D.V., first indiction without delay, you having the right of execution upon  
 me and all my property. This bond, of which a single copy is made, is valid, and having been asked  
 I have given my consent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelios Panechosios, son of Mouses, the aforesaid, have received the price in full  
 of sixty-three sekomata of wine and shall deliver at due term and I agree to everything as aforesaid.  
 I, Aurelios Papnouthios, son of Phoibammon, have written on request for him since he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'By me, . . .'

(Back, 4th hand) 'Contract of Panechotes, son of Mouses, from the hamlet of Hipponamos, about  
 63 sekomata of wine.'

3513-3521. Orders to issue wheat and wine. Published by S. A. Stephens in *ZPE*  
 31 (1978) 145-60. 27 3 B. 42/F (3) a-c, (4) a-b. May A.D. 260 or A.D. 282.

27 3 B. 42/F (3)b 11.2 × 9.4 cm. 25 May

3513

Χ Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.  
 δὸς Κιλβανῶ φροντιστῆ εἰς λόγον ἔργων  
 τοῦ Παχῶν μηνὸς οἴνου γενήματος ζ (ἔτους) κτήματος  
 Κολλοῦθου λη(νοῦ) β κερ(άμια) ις καὶ πυροῦ γενήμ[α]τος  
 5 ε (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας ιβ ὧν τὰς τιμὰς ἐπεστάλη Σαραπιάδης  
 ὁ χειριστὴς λημματῆται τοῦ μὲν οἴνου  
 ὡς τ(οῦ) κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ, τοῦ δὲ πυροῦ ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης)  
 α (δραχμὰς) ις.  
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσ καὶ δὸς(ς) τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο  
 καὶ οἴνου κεράμια δεκαξί, (γίνονται) ἀρτάβαι ιβ κ(εράμια) ις.  
 10 (ἔτους) ζ' Παχῶν λ'.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Silvanus, the *φροντιστής*, for work for the month of Pachon, 16 ceramia of 6th-year wine from  
 Collouthus' plot, from the 2nd wine vat, and 12 artabas of 5th-year wheat, the price of which Sarapiades  
 the *χειριστής* has been ordered to credit as: wine at 12 drachmas/ceramion; wheat at 16 drachmas/artaba.  
 (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the twelve artabas of wheat and sixteen ceramia of wine, that is, 12  
 art., 16 cer.

30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

3514

27 3 B. 42/F (3)c 10.8 × 12.4 cm. 25 May

Χ

Νεμεσιανὸς [Σε]ουήρ[ω] χαίρειν.  
 δὸς τοῖς ὑ[πο]γεγραμμένοις ὑπὲρ συντάξεως  
 τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παχῶν Δωρᾶ παιδαρίω  
 (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβην α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α' Θρεπτῶ ἑτέρω (πυροῦ)  
 (ἀρτάβην) α,  
 5 οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α' Νεφερῶ (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβην α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α'  
 Ἐρμερῶτι (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβην α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α' Νεικήτη (πυροῦ)  
 (ἀρτάβην) α,  
 οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α' Τυχάνω ἀπαιτητῆ (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβην α,  
 οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α, καὶ ὑπ(έρ) πανηγύρεως Παχῶν τὸ ἐξ ἔ-  
 θους αὐτῶ διδόμενον κερ(άμιον) α' Ψεναμόνι ἀμπελο(υργῶν)

- 10 ἐπιστάτη (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Ἀπίωνι προ-  
νοητῇ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Ἀμμωνίῳ ὁμοίως  
(πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α· Κυβανῶ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α,  
οἴνου κερ(άμιον) α·  
σεαυτῶ καὶ βοηθῶ σου (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β, οἴνου  
κερ(άμια) γ, ὄξους κερ(άμιον) α, καὶ ὑπ(έρ) πανηγ(ύρεως) Παχῶν κατὰ  
15 συνήθειαν κερ(άμιον) α· τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)  
(ἀρτάβας) ιβ,  
οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν  
ἐμπόρων κτήμ(ατος) Μαγδάλου κερ(άμια) ιε, ὄξους κερ(άμιον) α.  
(m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας  
δεκαδύο καὶ οἴνου κεράμια δεκαπέν-  
20 τε καὶ ὄξους κεράμιον ἕν, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ,  
κεράμια ιε, ὄξ(ους) α'. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

9 διδο<sup>-</sup> 14 πανη<sup>γ</sup> 15 συνη<sup>θ</sup> 21 ο<sup>δ</sup>

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give to the below-listed as an allowance for the present month of Pachon: to Doras, the slave, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Threptos, another (slave), 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Nephros, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Hermeros, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Neicetes, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Tychanus,<sup>10</sup> the collector, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine and on behalf of the festival in Pachon, the 1 cer. customarily supplied to him; to Psenamunis, the foreman of vinedressers, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Apion, the *προνοητής*, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Ammonius, likewise, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to Silvanus, 1 art. of wheat, 1 cer. of wine; to yourself and your assistant, 2 art. of wheat, 3 cer. of wine, 1 cer. of sour wine and the usual 1 cer. on behalf of the festival in Pachon. The total is 12 art. of wheat of the 5th year; 15 cer. of wine of the 6th year from the Watchtower plot, out of that left over by the dealers, 1 cer. of sour wine.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell and hand over the twelve artabas of wheat and fifteen ceramia of wine and one of sour wine, that is, 12 art., 15 cer. and 1 of sour wine. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

## 3515

27 3B. 42/F (3)e

17.2 × 8 cm.

25 May

X

Νεμεσιανὸς Σεοῦήρω χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἀπίωνι προνοητῇ βορίων μερῶν εἰς τὰς δόσεις τῶν

ἀμπελ(ουργῶν) τῶν Παχῶν μηνὸς

καὶ εἰς δόσεις ὕδροπ(αρόχων) τοῦ ζ" (ἔτους) καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα τῆς

φροντίδος ἀναλώματα τοῦ Παχῶν

μην(ός) οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος) Κολλούθου

- λην(οῦ) β κερ(άμια) ρζ, γενήμ(ατος) ε" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος)  
λιβικ(οῦ) λην(οῦ) δ<sup>-</sup>  
5 διπ(λοκέραμα) ε ἀπλοκέραμα) η ὦν τὰς τειμάς ἐπεστάλη  
Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημ-  
ματίσαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) ζ" (ἔτους) οἴνου ὡς τ(οῦ)  
κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμάς) ιβ, τοῦ δὲ ἀπὸ γενήμ(ατος) ε"  
(ἔτους) τοῦ μὲν  
Παχ(ῶν) λ' κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμάς) ι' ζ', τῶν δὲ διπ(λοκεράμων) ὡς τ(οῦ) α  
(δραχμάς) κδ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰ τοῦ οἴνου κεράμια  
[ἔκατὸ]ν πέντε διπλοκέραμα πέντε, (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) ρε  
διπ(λοκέραμα) ε.  
(ἔτους) ζ" Παχῶν λ'.

2 l. βορέϊων 5 l. τιμάς 7 (marg.) πα<sup>λ</sup> λ' 7 ις corrected from ιβ 7 and 8 δι'

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Apion the *προνοητής* of the Northern sections for the payments of the vinedressers for the month of Pachon and for the payments of the irrigators for the 7th year and for the other expenses of the care for the month of Pachon 97 ceramia of 6th-year wine from Collouthus' plot from the 2nd wine vat and 5 double ceramia, 8 single ceramia from the 5th-year crop from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat, the price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστής* has been ordered to credit as: 6th-year wine at 12 dr./cer.; 5th-year wine at 16 dr./cer. and 24 dr./double cer. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the one hundred and five ceramia of wine and five double ceramia, that is, 105 cer., 5 double cer.

30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

## 3516

27 3B. 42/F (3)d

14.5 × 8.8 cm.

25 May

X Νεμεσιανὸς Σεοῦήρω χαίρειν.

δὸς Ἀμμωνίῳ φρον(τιστῇ) ἐνίων μερῶν Σούεως εἰς τὰς δόσεις  
τῶν ἀμπελ(ουργῶν) καὶ τῶν ὕδροπ(αρόχων) τοῦ Παχῶν μην(ός)  
καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα

τῆς φρον(τίδος) ἀναλώματα (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) δ" (ἔτους)

(ἀρτάβας) δ καὶ οἴνου γενήμ(ατος)

5 ζ" (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος) λιβικ(οῦ) λην(οῦ) γ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπολιφθέντων  
απα. ( ) απολο-

γι. . . . . κερ(άμια) μζ φη τὰ[ς] τεμμ(ὰς) ἐπ[εστά-]

λη *Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημ(ματίαι) τοῦ μ[ε]ν (πυροῦ) ὡς τ(ῆς) α (δραχμὰς) ἰς*

Παχ(ών) λ' τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τ(οῦ) κερ(αμίου) (δραχμὰς) α (δραχμὰς) ἰβ.  
(m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς τὰς τ[ο]ῦ

πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσσαρες καὶ οἴνου κεράμια τεσσα-  
10 ράκοντα ἕξ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) μζ κ(εράμια) δ. (ἔτους)  
ζ" Παχών λ'.

2 and 4 φρο<sup>-</sup> 5 l. ὑπολειφθέντων αφφ, 7 (marg.) παλ λ' 7 λημ 8 α corrected from ἰβ.

<sup>1</sup>Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Ammonius, *φρονιστῆς* of some sections of Souis, for the payments to the vinedressers and the irrigators for the month of Pachon and for the other expenses of the care 4 artabas of 4th-year wheat and 46 ceramia of 6th-year wine from the Western plot from the 3rd wine vat, out of the left-over...; the price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστῆς* has been ordered to credit as wheat at 16 dr./art., wine at 12 dr./cer. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the four artabas and forty-six ceramia, that is, 46 (*sic*) art. and 4 (*sic*) cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.<sup>1</sup>

Pachon 30

## 3517

27 3B.42/F (3)a

11.9 × 6.5 cm.

25 May

X *Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.*

<sup>5</sup> οἴνογεύστης μετέδωκεν τὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας  
οἰνάρια ἀνεπιτήδεια εἶναι ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδὲν  
ἀνάπεμψον διὰ Ἀράχθου ναυτικοῦ κεράμια

5 διακόσια πενήκοντα, (γίνεται) κεράμια cv.  
(m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ ἀνάπεμψον τὰ τοῦ οἴνου  
κεράμια διακόσια πενήκοντα, (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) cv.  
(ἔτους) ζ" Παχών λ'.

<sup>1</sup>Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

The winetaster has declared the Euboean wine to be unsuitable; so from this send up two hundred and fifty ceramia with the boatman Harachthes, that is 250 ceramia. (2nd hand) Farewell and send up the two hundred and fifty ceramia of wine, that is 250 cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.<sup>1</sup>

## 3518-3519

27 3B.42/F (4)a

9.4 × 3.4 cm.

25 May

## 3518

*Νεμεσιανὸς Σεουήρω χαίρειν.*

δὸς τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις κφ[ταμη]-

X νίοις καὶ ἄλλοις εἰς λόγον ὀψωνί[ω]ν

τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Παχών Παμοῦνι

5 ὀνηλάτη (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β· Ἀγάθω

ἑτέρω ὁμοίως (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β·

Πανεχώτη (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β· Πετρωνίω

ζευγηλάτη (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην) α, οἴνου κερ(άμια) β·

10 Φαναμαῖ ἐποικιφύλλ(ακι) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β· Ὀννώφρι

ἑτέρω (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β· Αἰονυκίω ὁμοίως (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) β.

τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)" (ἀρτάβαι) ι,

οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους) κτήματος Μαγδώλου

ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ

τῶν ἐμπόρων κερ(άμια) η ὄν τὴν

15 συναγομένην τεμὴν ἐπεστάλλ(η)

Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημ-

ματίαι τοῦ μὲν πυροῦ ὡς τῆς

(ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμὰς) ἰς', τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τοῦ

20 κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ἰβ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δὸς

καὶ οἴνου κεράμια ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ι.

κεράμια) η. (ἔτους) ζ" Παχών λ'.

2 and 13 ὑπ- 9 φαναμαῖ 15 l. τεμὴν ἐπεστα<sup>λ</sup> 20 δυο deleted after δεκα

<sup>1</sup>Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give to the below-listed monthly workers and others as salaries for the present month of Pachon to Pamunis the donkey driver, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Agathus, another (donkey driver) likewise, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Panechotes, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Petronius the teamster, 1 art. of wheat, 2 cer. of wine; to Phanamais the settlement guard, 2 art. of wheat; to Onnophris, another (settlement guard), 2 art. of wheat; to Dionysius, likewise, 2 art. of wheat. The total is 10 artabas of 5th-year wheat, 8 ceramia of 6th-year wine from the Watchtower plot out of those left over by the dealers, the price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστῆς* has been ordered to credit as 16 dr./art. of wheat, 12 dr./cer. for wine. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the ten artabas of wheat and eight ceramia of wine, that is 10 art. of wheat, 8 cer. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.<sup>1</sup>

## 3519

- X Νεμεσιανός Σεουήρω χαίρειν.  
 δὸς Κολλούθῳ κεραμεῖ εἰς λόγον  
 δόσεως τοῦ ὄντ[ο]ς μηνός Παχῶν  
 πυροῦ γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους)᾽ (ἀρτάβας) ιη καὶ  
 5 οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ζ (ἔτους)᾽ κτήμ[ατ]ος Κολλούθου  
 ληνοῦ β κερ(άμια) κδ ᾧν τὴν συνα-  
 γομένην τειμὴν ἐπεστάλη  
 Σαραπιάδης ὁ χειριστῆς λημμα-  
 τίται τοῦ μὲν πυροῦ ὡς τῆς (ἀρτάβης) α (δραχμὰς) ις,  
 10 τοῦ δὲ οἴνου ὡς τοῦ κερ(αμίου) α (δραχμὰς) ιβ.  
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ δ[ό]ς τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ  
 ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτῶ καὶ οἴνου  
 κέραμα εἴκοσι τέσσαρα,  
 (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν λ'.

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Give Collouthus the potter as payment for the present month of Pachon 18 artabas of 5th-year wheat and 24 ceramia of 6th-year wine from Collouthus' plot from the 2nd wine vat, the agreed-upon price of which Sarapiades the *χειριστῆς* has been ordered to credit as 16 dr./art. for wheat, 12 dr./cer. for wine. (2nd hand) Farewell and hand over the eighteen artabas of wheat and twenty-four ceramia of wine. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'

## 3520-3521

27 3B. 42/F (4)b

28.7 × 9 cm.

16 May, 25 May

## 3520

- X Νεμεσιανός Σεουήρω χαίρειν.  
 παράδος Ἀμμωνᾶ γεουχοῦντι ἐν κώμη  
 Σέσφα οἴνου γενήμ(ατος) ε (ἔτους) κτήματος λιβικοῦ ληνοῦ  
 8 κέραμα εἴκοσι ἕξ καὶ διπλοκέραμα δεκαῆξ  
 5 συμφωγηθ(έντα) πρὸς αὐτόν, τῶν μὲν κεραμίων  
 ὡς τοῦ α (δραχμὰς) ις. τῶν δὲ διπλοκεράμων ὡς τοῦ  
 ἑνός (δραχμὰς) κδ ᾧν πάντων τὴν συναγομ(ένην) τειμὴν  
 ἐν δραχμαῖς ὀκτακοσίας μετεβάλετο τῷ τῆς οὐσίας  
 χειριστῆ. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ παράδος τὰ τοῦ οἴνου  
 10 κέραμα εἴκοσι ἕξ διπλοκέραμ(α) δεκαῆξ,  
 (γίνεται) κ(εράμια) κς διπ(λοκέραμα) ις'. (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν κα.

5 συμφωγηθ<sup>8</sup> 7 συναγομ<sup>8</sup> 1. τιμὴν 10 διπλοκερα<sup>8</sup> 11 δι'

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Transfer to the farmer Ammonas in the village of Sespha the 26 ceramia and 16 double ceramia upon which agreement has been made with him, of 5th-year wine from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat, at a rate of 16 dr./cer. and 24 dr./double cer.; for all these he has paid the agreed-upon price to the *χειριστῆς* of the estate amounting to eight hundred drachmas. (2nd hand) Farewell and transfer the twenty-six ceramia, sixteen double ceramia, that is, 26 cer., 16 double cer. 21 Pachon of the 7th year.'

## 3521

- X Νεμεσιανός Σεουήρω χαίρειν.  
 τῶν πραθέντων ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀπὸ γενήματος ε (ἔτους) κτήμ(ατος)  
 λιβικοῦ ληνοῦ 8 κεραμίων κε καὶ διπλοκε-  
 8 ράμων ζ τὴν τειμὴν μεταβαλοῦ Σαραπιάδης  
 5 τῷ τῆς οὐσίας χειριστῆ τῶν μὲν κεραμ(ίων) κε ὡς τοῦ α-  
 δραχμ(ὰς) δεκαῆξ, τῶν δὲ διπλοκεράμων ὡς τοῦ α-  
 δραχμ(ὰς) εἴκοσι τεσσάρων. (m. 2) ἔρρωσο καὶ μεταβαλοῦ τὴν  
 τιμὴν ὡς πρόκειται. (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν λ'.

4 1. τιμὴν 5 κερα<sup>8</sup> 6 and 7 δραχ<sup>8</sup>

'Nemesianus to Severus, greetings.

Pay Sarapiades the *χειριστῆς* of the estate the price of the 25 ceramia and 6 double ceramia of the 5th-year wine from the Western plot from the 4th wine vat sold by you at a rate of sixteen dr./cer. and twenty-four dr./double ceramia. (2nd hand) Farewell and pay the price as aforesaid. 30 Pachon of the 7th year.'



## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and (in the documentary texts) *καί* are not indexed.

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## III. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

## MARCUS AURELIUS

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3463

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains approximately 15 lines of text, while the right column contains approximately 25 lines. The script is a cursive hand, likely from the Hellenistic or Roman period. The papyrus is heavily damaged, with significant loss of material, particularly in the lower half of the right column and the bottom of the left column.

3472

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains approximately 10 lines of text, while the right column contains approximately 20 lines. The script is a cursive hand, likely from the Hellenistic or Roman period. The papyrus is heavily damaged, with significant loss of material, particularly in the upper half of the left column and the top of the right column.